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HISTORY OF CIVILISATION.

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HISTORY

OF

CIVILISATION.

BY

WILLIAM ALEX^R MACKINNON, F.R.S. M.P.

"Liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men; neither is it completely obtained, but by them who have the happy skill to know what laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good men may have the freedom which they merit, and the bad the curb which they need."—MILTON: *History of England*, Book III.

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In tracing the march of civilisation in France, it is impossible not to be struck with the similarity of its progress to that in England. We see, in Ancient Gaul, various savage tribes, occupying forests, morasses, and uncultivated tracts of land, exposed to all sorts of hardships, subsisting in a very precarious manner, waging war and exterminating each other. Subsequently, petty kingdoms were formed, resembling the Heptarchy here; then an attempt by a conqueror to place the whole under his sway, with the establishment of the feudal system. Then contests of the sovereign with his powerful barons, and all by degrees brought under subjection to the monarch

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having absolute power. After this, a revolution destroying that fabric of despotic rule; and lastly, a representative government, and an establishment of the several branches of legislature.

The able author* of the Spirit of Laws observes, that "the civilisation of England preceded that of France from two causes,—the insular position of the former, which, by removing any apprehension of invasion, enabled her to get rich by the arts of peace; and the other, the cloudy atmosphere of Britain, encouraging industry and persevering occupation more than the elastic and vivacious air of the Continent, by which the people are rendered more inconsiderate, and less prone to attend to political events."

This latter portion of the learned writer's remark might have held good of the French half a century ago; but that nation appears at present to take a sufficiently lively interest in all political matters.

The character given to the French nineteen centuries ago may be applicable at this moment — "Omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere, et ad bellum mobiliter, celeriterque excitari†;" and this tendency has contributed to keep the neighbouring nations in a state of apprehension.

It is a melancholy reflection, and cannot but create surprise, that for the last eight hundred

* Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.

† Cæsar's Comm.

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years the French, with few intermissions, have been engaged in foreign wars or internal dissensions; that hostilities without end, and battles without number, have taken place, either with their neighbours or among themselves, at an incalculable waste of life and treasure, retarding the progress of civilisation. The early part of French history describes the Gauls to be in a similar state to the Germans*, a free, but barbarous and savage people, under no control, nor holding any property in the soil.

To descant on this period would be foreign to our purpose. Let us at once proceed to the state of the French people under the feudal system. Even in those days the dawn of civilisation is scarcely perceptible. Under feudality, in the middle ages, we find every mansion a fortified castle, every baron a petty sovereign, every man a tyrant or a slave. Ignorance, atrocious crime, poverty, and misery spread themselves over the land. Kings and barons squabbled with and controlled each other, but each held alternately, or both together, entire ascendancy for five centuries, during which the feudal system was in force.

In the early days of French history we find, as in England, that the Crown, the Church, and the feudal barons possessed the entire soil, and constituted the only power in the nation. †

* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

† "Le Roi, les ecclésiastiques, et les seigneurs, levoient des tri-

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About the twelfth century, in France, as in many other parts of Europe, the provincial governments established by the feudal barons, the petty parliaments, and the subordinate local jurisdictions, began to feel the influence of a monarchy, and the advantages resulting from one individual having undisputed power to correct abuses, punish outrages, and enforce, though in a partial manner, the execution of the laws.

"Several of the considerable provinces (of France) which had contracted a spirit of independence, by having been long subject to the great vassals of the Crown, who were often at variance or at war with their master, were now accustomed to recognise and to obey one sovereign. As they became members of the same monarchy, they assumed the sentiments of that body into which they were incorporated, and coalesced with zeal towards promoting its interest and honour. The power and influence wrested from the nobles were seized by the Crown. The people were not admitted to share in these spoils; they gained no new privilege; they acquired no additional weight in the legislature. It was not for the sake of the people, but in order to extend their own prerogative, that the monarchs of France had laboured to humble their great

buts réglés chacun sur les serfs de ses domains. Je le prouve, à l'égard du roi, par le capitulaire de Villis; à l'égard des ecclésiastiques, par les régléments que Charlemagne fit la-dessus."—*Esprit des Lois*, liv. xxv. ch. xv.

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vassals. Satisfied with having brought them under entire subjection to the Crown, they discovered no solicitude to free the people from their ancient dependence on the nobles of whom they held."*

In the northern parts of France, some few towns on the Rhine endeavoured to govern themselves, to pursue their trade, and desired to be screened from the vexatious and constant demands to which they were subjected by the barons in their vicinity. They deemed themselves fortunate if they could escape these exactions, and be protected by the Crown at the expense of heavy contributions. But though these towns had thus obtained certain immunities and commercial advantages, they could not extend such benefits beyond their precincts; so ignorant and deficient in information were the people by whom they were surrounded.

In the southern districts of France, the rigour of the feudal system was not so prevalent as in the northern. Republics were formed in Provence, Languedoc, and Aquitaine, on the model of those established in Italy. In the struggle between the feudal and monarchical power in the north, and of the latter power with the republics in the south, the two could not act in concert. The result was, that the northern division of France gained the ascendancy; the southern republican states melted away under the influence of the monarchy,

* See Puffendorff.

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and France became united under one government and one system of legislation.

This union of power and of law, such as then administered, became a great auxiliary to civilisation. Not only were the inroads upon each other of hostile neighbours checked, and the power of the barons placed on a proper footing, but internal peace and facility of communication was encouraged between one part of the country and the other.

In France, as elsewhere, as soon as the people had rid themselves of the feudal tenure, and personal property began to be formed, every discovery or improvement introduced in manufactures or commerce increased the middle class. Every new want or desire which craved indulgence was a step towards the level of the extreme classes. The taste for luxury and for improvements of every description co-operated to enrich the poor, to impoverish the rich; in fact, to raise a middle class at the expense of the two extremes. "If we examine what has happened in France at intervals of fifty years, beginning some centuries back, we shall perceive invariably that a twofold revolution has taken place in society. The noble has gone down on the social ladder, and the man of trade has gone up; the one descends as the other rises. Every half century brings them nearer to each other, and they will soon meet."*

* Tocqueville, vol. i. Intr.

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The following remonstrance made to the sovereign, gives a frightful picture of the state of France several centuries ago: —

"Sire, — The people are oppressed, both by the men-at-arms, whom they contribute to support, and by the contractors, who have the right to levy taxes. Such are their sufferings that they are driven from their homes, and wander in the forests destitute of either food or shelter. The greater part of the husbandmen, having their farm horses seized, are under the necessity to make their wives and children drag the plough, and even this can only be done at night, otherwise they would be pillaged, if not imprisoned and murdered. During the day they and their families conceal themselves in the woods; others, driven to desperation, quit the country after destroying their wives and children, who were starving with hunger." *

If we look, says the historian, at the epoch of Charles IX. and Henry III., we find nothing but religious discord, wars, rapine, bloodshed, murders, and robberies, without any apparent motive. The Pope's legate encourages those monks, who, with the sword in one hand, and the crucifix in the other, take an active part in the civil wars of the day. Then, when we come to the time of Henry IV., we find matters not much improved. Although praised by all for his kindness and

* Duchesne, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 89.

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clemency, and pitied for his untimely end, yet certainly his extravagance, his love of play, his profligacy even at an advanced age, afford no brilliant or moral example to his subjects.

It is impossible, without shuddering, to look at the state of depravity in the morals of the court, from the days of Henry IV. of France and of all subsequent sovereigns, until the reign of the unfortunate Louis XVI., says the same historian. To enter fully into the subject would be impracticable: suffice it to say, that the utter disregard of decency was degrading to human nature.

Under Louis XIII. the entire population seems lost in profligacy. Duels without end, and nightly assassinations occur in Paris; the King exiles his mother and brothers, and annuls the laws of which it was his bounden duty to compel the observance! The shocking state of society at this time is thus described by a native writer:—

"Shall I speak of the thefts and atrocities committed by the scholars; of the violence of the valets, that puts the entire town into confusion; of the rage for duelling; of the many murders committed by paid agents; of the number of gaming houses; of the licentious representations at the theatres; of the fevers and pestilential diseases, engendered by poverty, dirt, and a bad police? Do not let us forget, to crown the whole, the assassination of a beloved monarch, — a marshal of France murdered by his rival, who is rewarded for the murder with the

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baton of connetable; the mother and the brothers of Louis XIII. driven from Paris by order of the monarch, who was too weak not to be cruel.

"The greatest libertines of the eighteenth century had been nurtured under Louis XIV. One may imagine, by their lives, the examples and lessons he afforded. Far be it from me to take away from that period the celebrated and admirable characters, the sublime patterns of virtue and piety, and the powerful productions of genius exhibited by individuals. But we will consider masses of people, not particular persons; and what has caused this reign to appear in such brilliant colours, is, that it has been judged of only by the productions of a few men of genius, who, by the lustre of their talent, have thrown into shade the mass of human turpitude and misery.

"Louis XV. ascended the throne. I will not shock modesty by attempting to depict his private conduct. The events of these times were the precursors of the Revolution."

In the early days of civilisation in France, her trade, both internal and external, was trifling. With all the advantages of climate, soil, and situation, the people were in a miserable state. Whatever wealth was acquired, whatever labour could be spared from the necessary, though imperfect, cultivation of the soil, was expended either in luxurious idleness by a few, or wasted in unprofitable, sanguinary, and unjust and unnecessary wars. Though possessing natural productions making an

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interchange desirable, the commerce of France was nevertheless very trifling. A few individuals might cross the Channel—a few vessels with silk or wine might be freighted; but so ignorant were the mass of the people, both in England and France, so little did they know of each other, that the grossest prejudices were entertained.

What could possibly induce two nations like the French and English, so fitted for being improved by an interchange of each other's produce and manufactures; so nearly matched that neither can overthrow the other, or gain much by war, to be constantly loading themselves with heavy taxes; to undergo great individual diminution of their domestic comforts; to deprive themselves of the flower of their population—in short, to place themselves in a situation of distress, for the mere enjoyment of worrying and destroying each other?

The fact seems to be, that wars in such cases have originated from a total want of public opinion, from the ignorance of the people, who allowed ambitious or unprincipled rulers successfully to employ every engine to influence their passions, and to excite the multitude to acts of destruction towards those of another country, for no possible advantage. In future ages, it will, perhaps, scarcely be believed that rulers could have been so flagitious, or nations so brutalised, as to act in this manner.

In future, from the present and prospective state of public opinion, such will not be the case.

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"En effet, s'il est prouvé que les guerres de la France ont tenu pendant trois règnes à des causes que le changement du gouvernement doit faire presque toutes disparaître, l'exposition la plus simple des faits montre que des nombreux motifs qui occasionnaient les guerres avec nos voisins, à peine actuellement en restera-t-il un seul; on a droit d'espérer que la paix qui se prépare sera plus solide et plus durable que toute autre."*

Since the Treaty of Munster, in 1648, until the conclusion of peace in 1815, including a period of 167 years, France has been engaged ninety-four years in war, and seventy-three only at peace. Let any one who has visited Versailles bear in memory the various scenes of battles and victories depicted in the salons of that palace, and he cannot but ask himself, "cui bono" have these wars been undertaken? What has France gained and what has she lost by these ninety-four years of sacrifice of men and treasure? The answer is indeed most melancholy. France has gained nothing; and lost, not only by the waste and consumption of so many lives and of so much money, the aggregate amount of both; but has, perhaps, lost immeasurably more by diverting the genius of the population from commerce, manufacture, and all the arts of peace, to a fondness for war, a love of glory, and a thirst for victories and plunder.

* Anquetil, Hist. des Guerres de France.

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It is well observed by a French writer* of the present century, that most of the wars in which France engaged, were undertaken, not for the benefit of the people, but to aggrandise the family of the reigning monarch, or gratify his ambition, hatred, pride, or love of power. The first war in which Louis XIV. engaged, was professedly to recover for his spouse, Maria-Theresa, some possessions which she claimed as inheriting from her father, Philip IV.

The next was undertaken by the same monarch, to place his grandson on the throne of Spain, which was claimed in right of his grandmother, and under the will of the late king.

The next originated by Alberoni persuading Philip V. that it might promote his views to the regency of the kingdom, after the decease of the reigning sovereign.

The fourth and fifth took place to promote the aggrandisement of the house of Austria and of the Bourbon family.

Another war arose from the obstinacy of Philip after the Treaty of Munster.

Then followed a most unprovoked commencement of hostilities by Louis XIV. against Holland.

Another was undertaken by the King of France, from dislike and jealousy of Frederick, King of Prussia.

* Anquetil, p. 363. edit.

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Another commenced between Louis XIV. and King William III. when proclaimed King of England at the Revolution.

Then follow other wars with England.

What a melancholy impression do these hostilities for more than ninety years leave on the mind! How effectually did they retard the progress of civilisation, and of public opinion in the last century! *

A recent French writer describes the advancement of public opinion in metaphorical but forcible language:—"Louis XIV. ascended the throne, and the sun of absolute power rose in its utmost splendour. Nothing could withstand its burning rays. At length, under Louis XV., the nation that had slumbered so long, awoke. The parliaments of Paris resisted the edicts of the King; philosophers dared to write openly; the minds of men were excited; great events seemed coming on. The middle class, which, until this time, remained unknown,

* "Toutes les guerres de famille entreprises par la France ont eu pour principes des contrats de mariages, des transactions sur propriétés diverses, des testaments, et autres pactes pour ainsi dire domestiques, dont le premier but était d'unir entre elles les maisons souveraines, et de les rendre secourables les unes aux autres.

"Quant aux guerres de dépit, d'ambition, de vengeance, d'orgueil et autres, il est rare qu'elles aient lieu chez un peuple dont les mouvements ne sont point commandés et dirigés par un seul homme. Si la nation commandait (*public opinion*), celui qui tient en main la clef des finances, saurait bien rendre illusoires les efforts que ferait l'intérêt personnel pour rompre la paix."—*Anquetil*, p. 367. edit.

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tyrannised over, and dispossessed of all its rights and privileges, arose out of its dormant state, and asserted its claims. The power of this class may continue for centuries, and secure the national liberties of France, if we may judge by the formation of the English constitution, which gained strength under similar circumstances."

Even so far back as 1668, when the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, a French writer of talent and observation, in giving the reasons that induced Louis XIV. to sign that treaty, says, "Our monarch was not without some apprehension from the Dutch; he disliked the chance of entering into a contest with them, when he had only a slight maritime force, and he knew they would, in case of hostilities, be supported by England. These in conjunction might blockade the ports of France, and destroy his rising navy. The Dutch, on their part, were fully aware of their naval power, and of their *immense riches:* in their pompous proclamations they gave themselves out as having secured the freedom of navigation, of having pacified Europe, and of being the arbiters of the fate of kings. Such boasting could not prove acceptable to the feelings of our young monarch."* This passage shows that even two centuries ago the influence of wealth was considerable in warfare. "The Dutch had not the prudence to check the licence of their periodicals,

* M. Anquetil, History of French Wars, p. 147.

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and of some engravers, who made use of cutting sarcasms and strong caricatures against the King, to which he was very sensitive."*

The abject and degraded condition of the people of France at this period can be imagined, when it is considered that from mere pique and wounded vanity their sovereign could involve his people in a war with two or three of his neighbours without any political or national advantage.

Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, civilisation slowly made way. Facility of communication, before the reign of Louis XV., does not appear to have increased in any great degree; but the power of public opinion advanced gradually, and things hastened to a catastrophe under Louis XVI., much in the same manner as they did in England under Charles I.

French writers have dwelt on the brilliant and glorious reign of Louis XIV., and have enumerated the number of eminent men in literature who flourished in his time; but the open immorality

* There is some resemblance between the complaints of Philip of Macedon against the Athenians and of Louis XIV. against the Dutch. The father of Alexander the Great, in a letter yet extant, accused the Athenians of allowing gross licence to their orators in the tribune, sometimes against their own high personages, sometimes against foreign kings and generals, to gain a reputation among their own people as zealous supporters of liberty. Remonstrances very similar to these were made by the French monarch to the States-General at this period, probably in imitation.

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of that monarch—his unprincipled ambition—his unprovoked attack on Holland—his revocation of the Edict of Nantes—the dragonnades of his people, and other disgraceful acts, stamp him in the eyes of posterity as an unprincipled tyrant. The manner in which he was permitted to fulfil all his desires, evinces sufficiently the low and ignorant condition of the people, and the degraded state to which the upper class was reduced.

It was quite impossible that the people of France, as soon as information spread through the community, and a middle class rose into existence, could for any time tolerate such a state of things or such a form of government; and the result was, the revolution which took place at the close of the eighteenth century, so lamentable by the manner in which it was carried on, and so injurious to liberty in its effects.

Particular events may retard the march of public opinion, and for a while suspend its operation; and one of the acts of Louis XIV. already referred to, may probably have checked the increasing strength of public opinion, which might have carried the revolution in the time of Louis XV.

This bigoted and cruel act was the the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, an order which repealed a permission granted by Henry IV. to the Protestants of France to exercise freely the functions and duties of their religion, one of the most liberal acts of that monarch. By this deed of revocation, those

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who refused to conform to the church of Rome were expelled from France! In those days there existed little personal property, and still less any means of transporting it by bills of exchange or credit. The distress occasioned by such an order to the families of the Protestants in France can scarcely be imagined at this day. The barbarity and illegality of expelling so many families from their native country for such an offence, and the indifference of the rest of the community respecting this act of despotism, shows sufficiently the general state of ignorance, and the influence of the priests over both king and people. In a political point of view, taking it for granted that Louis XIV. wished to suppress public opinion, and to retain despotism in France, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the long wars that he waged, the spirit of conquest and glory that he instilled into his people, were perhaps as well adapted to answer the ends proposed as any which could be exercised by an arbitrary king under similar circumstances: all had a tendency to check the increase of the requisites for civilisation.

The shocking corruption of manners and deficiency of moral principle prevalent in the court and in the nation, during Louis XV.'s reign, can scarcely be imagined. A writer observes that, "vices of all sorts lurked in concealment, and were aggravated by universal hypocrisy."* In this reign the abuse

* Richelieu, i. p. 7.

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of the royal authority, the licentiousness of the sovereign and people, the profligacy and meanness of the courtiers, the profusion and insolence of the mistresses and ministers, and the poverty and discontent of the people, arrived at such a pitch, that the monarchy was shaken by them to its very foundation.*

Louis XV. annihilated the remaining rights of the provinces, of the higher states, and of the parliament; diminished the consequence of the principal personages of the court and crown, and embroiled the nobles and clergy, the civil and military powers, that he might abridge the influence of the one by means of the other, and thus reduce them all to an entire dependence on the crown.†

The decision of the Sorbonne was, "That the whole property of every Frenchman belonged to the King, and that, in taking it, he took no more than what was his own, by all laws, divine and human."‡

Under the reign of Louis XV. the middle class began to rise, and have some influence. Among them might be enumerated all the possessors of land who had purchased their property within a certain number of years — all the lawyers, physicians, counsellors of the several courts, merchants in the capital, and in the commercial and trading towns.

* Meiners Gott on the Female Sex, p. 355.
† St. Simon and Richelieu, i. p. 207. 213.
‡ St. Simon, vi. p. 172.

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These were the persons likely to give power to public opinion, and to influence the lower classes of society throughout the kingdom. By an inconceivable folly in the government, this class was not permitted to enjoy the same rights, nor to partake, under any circumstances, of the same privileges as the old noblesse; and its members were consequently decided in their condemnation of the abuses in the government and tyranny of the crown. They seem to have given the first impulse to public opinion concerning the Revolution; they increased, though slowly, until they discovered their own power. In the year 1780 this class presented a formidable body, not only on account of their property and numbers, but because they possessed almost exclusively all the information in the country. The noblesse, being chiefly intended for the army, had generally but an indifferent education, except some of the younger, intended for the church.

The style of living in the French court was one of oriental magnificence, which, compared with the poverty of the nation, must have formed a striking contrast. It formerly appeared as if the happiness of the people, and all they held most dear, was interwoven with their monarch; and each individual seemed to have felt what occurred in the king's family, as keenly as if it had happened in his own. Such were the feelings that filled every breast, from the highest to the lowest throughout the kingdom, and thus they continued until the seeds of the Revolution

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began to germinate. This predilection might have existed among a generous people like the French, even with the establishment of public opinion, had the Crown been sensible of the rise of the middle class, and of the necessity of granting to all equal rights and equal justice; in short, had it taken warning from our history in the days of Charles I. When the Revolution began it was too late; the middle class had excited the lower, and found themselves too weak and powerless to direct or influence the result.

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CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Want of Foresight in Montesquieu and others. — French Army officered by a poor Noblesse. — Growing Influence of the *Tiers Etat*. — Exclusion of the Bourgeoisie from public Employment. — Assembly of the States-General. — Fatal Error of Louis XVI. — Public Opinion in favour of a Revolution. — Mischievous Power of the Lower Class. — Contests between the Parliament and the Executive. — Chesterfield's Prediction. — Popularity in France of the American War of Independence. — Ignorance of the Court. — Irreligion of the People. — Financial Distress. — Decree of the States-General. — Deputation of the Clergy from Poitou. — Dilemma of Louis XVI.

It is a subject of surprise that such gifted men as Montesquieu, Delolme, and others, who had drunk deep of the cup of liberty, and whose opinions and writings were hostile to arbitrary domination, should not have foreseen the danger arising from a revolution that would set the most ignorant and brutal part of the people on the pinnacle of power. Their philosophy was at fault in not anticipating the effect of a sudden change, which should destroy the church and monarchy, and give up the country to the tender mercies of a rabble without principle of any sort, and anxious only for anarchy, spoliation, and bloodshed.

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So much has been written and said on this subject,—so many horrors have been detailed of the judicial murders and other atrocious deeds perpetrated under the name of liberty in the progress of this revolution, that the mind recoils from the task of recapitulating them.

Let us therefore direct our attention, not to the details of that revolution, but to the causes in which it originated, and their inevitable effects, by which an old-established dynasty of monarchs, long revered by the nation; an established church, and the oldest nobility in Europe, were utterly annihilated in an incredibly short space of time. The throne of France, like that of Spain, and of most of the absolute kingdoms in Europe, was mainly supported by the army and the church. The attachment of the people, not being founded on any true principles, but arising chiefly from priestly dictation, was of a very transitory nature.

The army was officered by a poor noblesse, entirely dependent for support on the sovereign, and prohibited by custom from any trade, commerce, or occupation, which might enable them to become independent of his authority. To keep them in that state of dependence, it was not only deemed disgraceful to follow any mercantile occupation, but even the professions of law and physic were deemed derogatory to the *gentilhomme de trois races**, of whom their noblesse was composed. No

* The French noblesse consisted of "gentilhommes de trois races," that is, of those whose ancestors for three generations

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doubt any army, under such a system, and officered in such a manner, must have been inclined to support their sovereign. When, however, by the gradual increase of internal trade, and some external commerce, which had taken place in the course of the 17th century, and extended through the 18th, a slight approximation to a middle class was made, the immunities granted by the sovereign to the privileged classes were strictly scanned by the people. Equality of rights, and equal taxation, were demanded. The throne, the noblesse, and the clergy, found it impossible, in the distracted state of the public finances, to make head for a moment against the *Tiers Etat*, supported by the population.

It is unnecessary to enter into details of the contests which were occasionally carried on between the Court and the parliament of Paris and other towns*, in which justice and love of liberty were usually with the latter, but in which the former ultimately prevailed, by the absolute power of the Crown.

The middle class, though rather superior in information to the noblesse, were excluded from many departments of the state, and from all high situations,

had not exercised any trade or commercial pursuit, and had only served in the army or in the church.

* Care must be taken not to confound, from a similarity of name, the parliaments in France before the Revolution, with the assembly represented by that name in England. The parliaments in France were mere courts of justice for civil suits, and registries of the edicts of the sovereign.

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which were conferred upon the younger sons of persons dependent on the Court. The bourgeoisie had scarcely any chance of obtaining promotion, and were thereby prevented from improving their condition. No merit, however distinguished; no services rendered to the state, however great; no virtue or talent, however splendid, could entitle such individuals to enter into the ranks of the noblesse, a class whose privileges were supported by the Court, and by the prejudices of an ignorant population. It must have been galling to the middle class to find the prejudices of the Court, of the Government, and of the noblesse, so strong. They however formed a public opinion, which ultimately declared itself when the assembly of the States-General took place under Louis XVI., and that ill-advised and misguided monarch, who looked on the middle class then assembled, not only with jealousy, but with dislike, sought for support and assistance from the old noblesse and the clergy. The former of these orders was not powerful enough to make head against the *Tiers Etat*, and the clergy had lost their influence over the community.

The middle class in France, before the Revolution, was in much the same situation as the middle class in England under Charles I., previously to the civil war. They perceived great abuses in the state; they found themselves in a situation inferior to what, from their property, they were entitled; they wished to define the power of the Crown, and

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to obtain and secure their own rights and privileges: yet the existing Government was so besotted as not to see the advancing movement, nor take warning by the example held out by our civil wars; and refused to grant voluntarily that which the middle class was determined to obtain—limit to the power of the Crown, and the right of all to aspire to the highest situations or rank in the state, if qualified by talents, property, or public service.

The middle class was thus highly dissatisfied with the state of things; or, in other words, public opinion in France was in favour of a revolution; and the lower class, influenced by the numbers, the property, the information, and the connexions of the middle class, united cordially with them in desiring a change. Public opinion and popular clamour being thus united, the middle and lower classes became at once an overmatch for the King and that part of the noblesse attached to the Court, to which we may add the heads of the Church, and the higher officers of the army. The result, as might easily be imagined, was, that the throne, the noblesse, and the clergy, were annihilated by the States-General, that is, by the middle class. When however this had taken place, what followed? The middle class was not in that day sufficiently numerous or powerful to carry on its measures unassisted; it therefore called into aid the lower class, and inflamed the minds of the working people, who, deprived of all religious or moral sentiments, became

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for a time the lords of the ascendant, and, under the name of a Directory or Republic, committed all the atrocities of the Revolution; thus showing the danger of allowing the passions of the multitude to be inflamed, and of placing the lowest, the most uneducated and inferior part of the community in the supreme government of the country. This was fearfully exemplified by the conduct of the ruling powers in France, in the years 1792-3.

It is a remarkable fact, that in general the legal portion of the community should have taken part with the existing government, whatever it might be. The law can only be administered by a certain authority, by which it is supported, commonly called the executive government. In all legal men is found a love of order and of obedience to certain defined principles, which cannot be enforced without a government. In general, therefore, lawyers support constituted authorities. In the French Revolution of 1792, this, however, was not the case. The legal men in France, though fond of order, abhorred the despotic powers of the sovereign, and lent a very effectual assistance to the first promoters of the Revolution.

At that time, public opinion in France little anticipated the horrors of the Revolution, nor the cruelties and judicial massacres that subsequently took place, any more than the protracted wars which followed. The well-informed part of the community were, however, decidedly in favour

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of a change, and the cause of the parliament against the court (to which reference has already been made), was warmly espoused as being that of justice and liberty.

An Englishman, writing on the state of France about a century ago*, expresses himself as follows:— "The affairs of France grow more serious, and in my opinion will grow more and more so every day. The King is despised, and has brought about to be hated at the same time, which seldom happens to the same man. He hesitates between the church and the parliament, like the ass in the fable that starved between two hampers of hay. The people are poor; those who have religion are divided in their notions of it. The clergy never do forgive, much less will they forgive the parliament; the parliament never will forgive them. The army must, without doubt, take different parts in the dispute. Armies, though always the tools and supporters of absolute power, are always the destroyers of it too, by frequently changing the hands in which they think proper to lodge it. This was the case of the prætorian bands, who deposed and murdered the monsters they had raised to oppress mankind. The Janissaries in Turkey, and the regiments of guards in Russia, do the same. The French nation reasons freely, which they never did before, upon matters of religion and of govern-

* Lord Chesterfield.

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ment; the officers do so too: in short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist, and daily increase in France." *

Such was the state of the public mind in France ninety years ago. It does not appear to have entered into the mind of the intelligent writer, that the "symptoms" of which he speaks, arose from the spread of civilisation among the people.

A French historian, speaking of the sentiments of the people in regard to the American war of independence, observes, — "The universal cry in France in 1779 was, 'When shall we succour the Americans?' The nation deceived the Government, and deceived itself, in exaggerating the commercial advantages that might arise from American independence. Even poetry lent its aid to the public sentiment; the philosopher thought the Government too slow in its operations to give support to the Americans. No title was thought so dignified in Paris as that of "citizen of Boston." It was particularly in the commercial and maritime towns of France that the greatest enthusiasm was manifested for the cause of liberty. The communication and commercial freedom likely to take place with the United States appeared a good augury of

* Letter of Lord Chesterfield, 25th December, 1753.

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the time when the fruits of peace and liberty would augment the wealth of the people." *

This quotation shows the state of public opinion in France at the eve of the Revolution. The country certainly became inclined to advocate principles of liberty, and of constitutional government. Manifestations such as these in the well-informed or commercial part of the community ought not to have been disregarded. Louis XVI., resembling Charles the First of England in his ignorance of the change that was daily taking place, had not the good fortune to be counselled by advisers who were aware of the state of things. In England, at the commencement of the Rebellion, and in France at the Revolution, the rise and importance of the middle class were not appreciated by the Government. In both countries it is to be regretted that the sovereign suffered the penalty of the ignorance and infatuation of those by whom he was surrounded. In both, after various conflicts and changes, the middle class did not find themselves sufficiently powerful to withstand the favourite leader of an army, and in both a military despotism was the consequence.†

* Lacretelle, vol. v. p. 83.

† The following curious statement has lately appeared in a very distinguished quarterly publication: — "It must, indeed, be admitted, that there had been throughout the whole of the French Revolution, a chain of very remarkable coincidences with corresponding events in English history, which we have before incidentally noticed, but which we think it is worth while to exhibit more clearly in the following synopsis: —

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When religion is disregarded, there cannot be a sound moral principle. The higher orders in the

Charles I.	Louis XVI.
Unpopularity of the Queen.	Unpopularity of the Queen.
The Long Parliament.	The National Assembly.
Flight to the Isle of Wight.	Flight to Varennes.
Trial and execution.	Trial and execution.
Government by the Parliament.	Government by the Convention.
Cromwell.	Buonaparte.
Expels the Parliament.	Expels the Councils.
Military despotism.	Military despotism.
Richard Cromwell set aside.	Napoleon II. set aside.
Restoration of Charles II.	Restoration of Louis XVIII.
Amnesty to all but regicides.	Amnesty to all but regicides.
Popish and Ryehouse plots.	Conspiracies of Berton, Bories, &c.
Unpopularity of the Duke of York.	Unpopularity of Count d'Artois.
Fear of the Jesuits.	Fear of the Jesuits.
James II., late king's brother.	Charles X., late King's brother.
Suspected birth of the Pretender.	Suspected birth of Duke of Bourdeaux.
Influence of the Jesuits.	Influence of the Jesuits.
Royal declarations of indulgence.	Royal ordinances.
Convention parliament.	Meeting of the dissolved Chamber.
Flight and abdication of the King.	Flight and abdication of the King.
Expulsion of him and his family.	Expulsion of him and his family.
They take refuge in France.	They take refuge in England.

And, finally, both revolutions arrived at the same identical result — the calling to the vacant throne the late King's cousin, being the next male heir after the abdicating family."— *Quarterly Review.*

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Church, as we have seen, were some of the main pillars of the Crown; the lower orders in the priesthood thought it their interest to keep the people in ignorance. It is a subject of regret that the ceremonies and doctrines of the Church of Rome should have been so identified by the clergy with religion itself, that it was difficult for many, particularly those of the lower class brought up in that faith, to separate one from the other,—to dissever the ordinances of man from the precepts of the Gospel. Those of this class who thought such forms not requisite were told by their clergy that they had no religion, and they generally ended in having none.

Let us hope that the increasing civilisation of the age will occasion a change even in those parts where the lower classes have been kept in ignorance. Much to the credit of the Roman Catholic priesthood, a greater liberality, both in doctrine, in permission to peruse the Scriptures, and in many other religious matters, is gradually extending itself, and improving the lower classes in parts of the Continent.

The extravagance of the former sovereigns of France had left the treasury empty, and impoverished the nation to that degree, that the greatest difficulty existed in levying imposts of any description on the people. This scarcity of money strengthened the general discontent, and proportionally weakened the power of the monarch over his army, which, when not regularly paid, became dissatisfied. Added to this, the States-General assembled in 1789 decreed,

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"that, in future, their consent should be required for passing laws, and for imposing taxes — that ministers should be held responsible — that the public burdens should be equally shared by all his Majesty's subjects — that all citizens should be equal in the eye of the law, and eligible to all situations — that the unfair privileges of the provinces, and various other remnants of feudal servitude, should be abolished — that no citizen should be arrested unless by the warrant of a competent authority — that the judges should be irremovable, and the jurisdiction of the parliaments defined — that the reasons for every imprisonment should be stated, and all trials be in open court.

This, however, was very well on paper, or in a speech; but the materials in France for a free constitution were then not sufficiently formed to carry out such principles. The middle class had not enough influence. When the old proprietors of estates were driven from their native soil, or made to ascend the scaffold, there was no upper class left in the community. When the priests lost all their influence over the people, and were either massacred or driven into exile, the mass of the population, becoming masters of the field without any one of the requisites for civilisation, gave themselves up to the commission of those atrocities and horrors that have stigmatised the very name of revolution, and made it hateful to the ears of men.

Would such proceedings have taken place in France had the middle class been as powerful in

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that country in 1790 as it was forty years later? The answer is obvious. Every one must see the change that had occurred when the demonstration of popular feeling which seated the present monarch of France on the throne took place. The power of the monarch in that country was, for the first time, modified and defined in 1815. It was still more defined and clearly ascertained in 1830. Whatever has ensued since this last period may, or may not, have been severe; but it was not arbitrary. Whatever is now done in France by the executive power is done according to law. The preceding monarchs might or might not be severe, but they desired to act *without the sanction of the laws.*

As the mass of the population in France was more intelligent at the close of the last century than the population in England at the breaking out of the civil war in the middle of the seventeenth century, some surprise may be excited that the excesses at the commencement of the French Revolution were much greater than during our's. This difference may be attributed to the moral principle, though mixed with puritanism, that existed in the people of England. In France the lower class was thoroughly demoralised. The clergy in England to a certain extent retained their hold over the lower class; in France, at the Revolution, they were banished, imprisoned, or put to death, and all regard for morality, or even the semblance of religion, was thrown aside. Audacious avowals of

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atheism were common. The lower class in France at the close of the last century had been taught the forms only, not the divine spirit of religion. This was not the case in England. In all probability, if the revolution in France had not taken place until half a century later, the middle class by that time would have been sufficient in power and influence to prevent the atrocities committed by an infuriated lower class.

Although the heads of the Church attached themselves so obstinately to the King and the existing state of things, it is certain that some of the inferior clergy in France, although accustomed and inclined to obedience, were not, at the first breaking out of the Revolution, influenced by public opinion, augmented by the connection which they necessarily held with the middle and lower classes.

We are told that "a part of the deputies of the clergy from Poitou attended on a certain day in the hall of the National Assembly, and stated, that they came to ascertain the powers vested in the representatives of the other orders, and to produce theirs; so that, all being ascertained to be correct and verified, the nation should have real representatives. They concluded by saying, 'We come, gentlemen, to this assembly, influenced by our regard for our country, to place ourselves so as to act in concert with our brother citizens,' &c.

It is impossible to describe the sentiments with which this address was received. The hall of the Assembly resounded with applause; every one

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crowded round the curés; tears of joy were shed; they were embraced with enthusiasm. 'Let us take care,' cried several in the Assembly, 'that these worthy curates be not abandoned to the despotism of the bishops. Let us secure these worthy citizens from the animosity and the revenge of the potentates of their order. Let us render their names immortal, and let us record them in our annals.'"*

An opportunity presented itself to the French, in 1789, of obtaining a constitution, and of avoiding a revolution, by defining the King's prerogative, as was done in England a century before with the Prince of Orange. At the above time, Louis XVI., a weak but well-meaning monarch, but who really entertained a regard for his people, was probably willing to agree to any modification of his prerogative, or to any plan for forming a constitutional government that might be suggested, and that would satisfy the people. The difficulty, however, was to adjust matters between public opinion, that expected and demanded a perfect equality of rights, and those safeguards for a constitution that have subsequently been obtained, and the noblesse with the adherents of the court, who were unwilling to give up those privileges which they considered as their birthright. In every respect, the situation of the French monarch closely resembled that of the unfortunate Charles I., whose followers were actuated by similar prejudices and similar motives.

* Annals of the Revolution.

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CHAPTER III.

NAPOLEON.

Vices of the Directory. — The Middle Classes become the Victims of that Power. — Habitual Dissoluteness of Manners. — Sanguinary Rule. — Dissolution by Bonaparte of the Republican Government. — Warlike Enthusiasm of the French. — Bonaparte's quick Insight into human Character. — His immense armed Force. — Public Opinion overawed and despised by him. — His fatal Ambition. — His Means of indulging it. — His Endeavour to restore the old monarchical System. — His Choice between War and Commerce. — He recognises the Power of Public Opinion when too late. — Difference between his Sentiments in Exile, and his Acts in Power.

"THE government of the Directory began by demoralising the power by which it was created, and continued its course by alternately corrupting and coercing the citizens of France. There was not an *intriguant*, male or female, not an ambitious speculator, not a public plunderer or dabbler in loans, or fraudulent contractor, that did not force his way to the congenial friendship of Barras, and into an intimacy with the ministers of the Directory. It was a national coterie of '*chiffoniers*,' all seeking for gold in the mud and offal of the then most sensual capital in Christendom. This was a system

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that could not last. The royalist, the constitutional, and the republican parties, all formed their clubs. The Directory stood in the midst of these factions, with its *intriguants* and stock-jobbers. Barras, 'the rotten Barras,' as Napoleon called him, an ex-noble, had all the tastes, all the vices, and all the frivolity of the worn-out aristocracy of France; and while he was wallowing in this Sybarite luxury, and dining daily like Dives, the army and navy were living like Lazarus, without coats to cover their nakedness, or crumbs to satisfy their hunger. The spirit of robbery and rapine, of judicial assassination, of blasphemy and impiety, spread their wide wings over France at that period; and these half-spoliators, half-Sybarites called themselves a government! Every impure, every corrupt, every wicked and licentious spirit, found in the government not merely a resting-place, but a welcome home. The liberty of the press had perished in the general licentiousness. Barras ordered one of the journalists (Poncelin) to be carried to prison, gagged, and flagellated till death released him. A partial national bankruptcy was decreed; the goods and chattels and property of nobles and functionaries were confiscated, and their persons proscribed. Domiciliary visits were authorised, and a more stringent conscription law passed. Tyranny assumed the guise of a hideous legality. All religion was abandoned, and the most shocking immorality prevailed. The Directory had repudiated all men

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of energy, talent, and morality. Such a government could have been overturned in a moment; the mass of the nation was sunk in dread of the renewal of the reign of terror and of anarchy. At length Bonaparte relieved them, and despotism became the order of the day."

Such is the striking picture given of the French Revolution in a recent publication.

The events which had previously taken place, and those sanguinary deeds that cast such a stain on the transactions of that period, completely set at defiance public opinion, and the middle class of society, which became the chief victims. During the height of the revolutionary frenzy, all individuals of information, of character, of talents, and of property; all, in short, that could have supported and given strength to public opinion, were denounced by the revolutionary tribunals — sent to prison, expelled the country, or conducted to the scaffold! A war of extermination was proclaimed against public opinion by the revolutionary leaders. To further their intentions, they attempted to put out of the way or destroy all men of talent, information, or property; all those who could wisely lead or influence public opinion.*

After the first struggle between the parties had taken place, — after the power of the King was abridged and defined, and the privileges and ex-

* Las Cases' Journal: Conversations de St. Helène.

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emptions of the noblesse abolished, — then it was that public opinion ought to have retained its influence; but when these events had taken place, public opinion, supported by the middle class, and persons of talent, information, and property, was not sufficiently extensive, nor the parties possessed of sufficient wealth in the state to enable them, unassisted either by the upper class, or the Church and the Crown, to make an effectual stand against the lower class, and to control or even influence their proceedings.

A writer on the events of those days observes: "In the French noblesse, habitual dissoluteness of manners continued beyond the pardonable period of life, and was more common amongst them than it is with us: it reigned with less hope of remedy, though possibly with something less of mischief, being covered with more exterior decorum. They countenanced too much the licentious philosophy which has helped to bring on their ruin. There was another error amongst them equally fatal in its consequences. *Those of the commons, who approached to or exceeded many of the nobility in point of wealth, were not fully admitted to the rank and estimation which wealth, in reason and good policy, ought to bestow in every country.* The two kinds of aristocracy were too punctiliously kept asunder; the military, particularly, were too exclusively reserved."

The irreligion and laxity of morals which so

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lamentably prevailed in France, have been frequently noticed.

At the period of the Revolution, in 1789, a generous people found themselves at once their own masters, but, for want of sufficient power in the middle class, they were not in a condition to secure their liberty. Possessed of the absolute power in the state, the lower class held it by a sanguinary rule, which precluded all effect of public opinion.

After May 1793, the property confiscated in France, in less than eighteen months, amounted to the almost incredible sum of three hundred millions sterling! These depredations formed the resources of the then existing government. So immense a sum did not accrue merely from seizing the fortunes of exiled nobles and others, hostile to the Revolution, but from a source that must, if possible, create more horror and disgust at such a government. This sum was obtained as forfeitures of the property of all persons who had remained in France who were possessed of landed estates, and who had shown the smallest dislike to the Revolution, but remained peaceable and orderly subjects. It was admitted by several members at a sitting of the National Convention, that the agriculture of France was extinguished, and its commerce annihilated! They added, that care and attention ought to be given to reanimate both. But both were neglected by the republican government. Justice at that time in France was worse than a mockery. All

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the sanguinary cruelties and judicial murders had been committed through the medium of revolutionary tribunals, and though these were less cruel than under the Directory, they were only so by comparison with the former system, properly denominated the Reign of Terror!

Look at the state of religion in the republican governments in those days. Let us not for a moment imagine the entire people were atheists, although such an imputation was deserved by many individuals. It was not possible that a whole nation in so short a time should have renounced the religion of their fathers, or forgotten all the principles in which they had been educated, or that they could wholly extinguish the feelings of nature, or subdue the workings of conscience. To the larger portion of the mass there could not be a heavier calamity than to be denied the exercise of their religion, and this too in a country that supposed itself to enjoy more than human liberty. And yet under the moderate government of 1795 (moderate only by reference to its predecessor), when a proposition had been made to solemnise the Christian religion, the Convention passed to the order of the day, proposing forthwith to establish a plan of decadal pagan festivals, and accompanying this resolve by a declaration, that all priests should be detained in prison till the new religion was established!

Though the Convention of France professed to have renounced the crimes and cruelties of their

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predecessors, yet in this pure state of innocence what was the difference? was there more unanimity or good feeling among those of whom the Convention was composed? On the contrary, there never had been stronger instances of opposition, distraction, and confusion. They were continually recriminating on each other the guilt of those very cruelties which they had abjured.* Such is the conduct, such the consequences of a government based, not on public opinion, but popular clamour!

At length Bonaparte, through his military reputation, the devotion of the army, and his own talents, dissolved the republican government that had done so much evil. Supposing the middle class in France to have been then as powerful as at present, such a result could hardly have taken place!

The enthusiasm of the French had been raised in a high degree by the Revolution: the national love of glory was excited by the success of their arms, particularly during the command of Napoleon in Italy, and subsequently in Egypt. This leader was well skilled in the knowledge of creating such sentiments as might augment that love of glory peculiar to the active, enterprising, and chivalrous spirit of the French. But these excitements, if they may be so called, on the minds of the people, even during the most fortunate days and brilliant

* See Parliamentary Speeches, 1795.

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successes of Bonaparte, could not be said to amount to any thing like public opinion in his favour, unless he had given to the people what they desired, but which he was not inclined to bestow — the power of establishing a constitution and a representative government, in which the property of the country should have the same influence in the legislature which it has in Great Britain.

It is universally admitted that Bonaparte possessed the greatest talents both as a politician and a general. He was endowed with a most valuable quality in a public man, an unusually quick insight into human character, and great facility in ascertaining the dispositions and inclinations of mankind. Educated in the camp, and brought up in the midst of the Revolution, when enthusiasm and popular clamour were triumphant, he was too much accustomed to influence the people by appealing to their passions or feelings, or imagination. When a particular object or favourite point was to be gained, he attempted to excite one or other of these, as is apparent in his well-known addresses to his soldiers on various occasions, (particularly in that made on the Battle of the Pyramids in Egypt) on his return from Elba, and in his bulletins. He confounded public impulse with public opinion, or imagined that one might prove no bad substitute for the other, as the means of furthering his ambition.

When he assumed the sovereign power of the state under the name of First Consul, he found the

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country in a deplorable condition. Democracy and the lower class were predominant. In the commencement of his political career, the First Consul studied the feelings of the French; he fostered the middle class, and the remnants of the old noblesse, and the clergy were protected and supported. By the great success which he obtained over the continental powers of Europe, the means of augmenting his army were such, both by contributions levied on the states that he overran, as well as by the spoils of the nobility and clergy in France which had been confiscated under the Republic, that a sort of fourth class, if it might be so termed, was called into existence, a class wholly incompatible with either liberty or public opinion. We allude to the immense armed force that he set on foot, a body or class of men taken from the people, and who ought to have entered into the sentiments of their brother citizens, but who became enthusiasts in the cause of glory, war, and conquest. This body of men might probably in course of time have adopted public opinion, had no stimulus by war or conquest been afforded them. In this case, they would, as a matter of course, have sunk back into the body of the people. Until then, however, they were devoted to their emperor; and, with such a spirit, so large a mass was equally formidable and hostile to the national freedom as to the peace and security of their neighbours. The enthusiasm by which they were impelled and fostered, if not created by

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the sagacity of Napoleon, bore some resemblance in its effects to the puritanical fervour of Cromwell's soldiers, the fanaticism of the early Turkish conquerors, or the pride of the Prætorian guards in the early days of the Cæsars.

Any large armed force in a nation imbued with enthusiasm on any particular subject is a dangerous antagonist to public opinion. Supported by this armed force, Napoleon, superior to the Roman emperors of old, was able to control for a time even the increasing influence of civilisation. At the head of the French army, he either overawed or despised public opinion, repudiated the mild and conciliatory conduct he had adopted at first, made himself despotic, and endeavoured to bring the whole of Europe under his sway. The moment that the chances of war and severity of climate had destroyed this sort of fourth class, he found himself deserted by the others, and his reign was at an end.

There can be little doubt that if Napoleon, in place of raising this fourth class into existence, had consulted only the welfare of France, promoted industry and commerce, avoided war, and followed public opinion, he might have accelerated for that fine country the course which France has now so wisely adopted. His ambition, however, outbalanced all these considerations; and the desire of transmitting despotic power to his descendants swayed his resolves, and led to his downfall.

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Napoleon, when emperor, could only keep up the military despotism which he had established in France by directing the sole attention and energy of the people to foreign wars. The success of his arms, the ease of supporting and quartering his troops on his opponents, the works of art sent home, the sums arising from forced loans or contributions, and the employment of many idle hands in his ranks, but still more the prestige of glory and victory that crowned his career, served to conceal from the people the iron yoke imposed on them.

Napoleon unwisely imagined he could check or neutralise public opinion, and gradually restore the form of government which existed before the Revolution of 1789, with, however, the single difference that his family should occupy the place of the former dynasty. It seems surprising that a man of his remarkable sagacity and foresight should not perceive that, in the state of civilisation in France, and the progress of public opinion, it was quite impossible to uphold the foregone system.

Supposing for a moment that Napoleon had ceased to exist, and that his son had succeeded him in 1814 as emperor, there is little doubt but that the power of public opinion would either have deprived him of his throne, as it did Charles X., or forced him to yield to circumstances, and give the nation a limited form of government, as expected and demanded by the public voice. It was on this

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account that Napoleon could never have submitted to a lasting peace. He was fully sensible of the state of the public mind in France, and knew that after a few years of tranquillity, when the enthusiasm of the armed force should subside, a constitution would be demanded from him. War was necessary to the continuance of his despotism, and no alternative remained for Europe but the destruction of his colossal power.

Napoleon was at once the controller and the victim of circumstances. By military power he ascended the throne, and by an abuse of military power he was dragged down from his elevation.

His attacks on Spain and on Russia were not only fatal to himself, but iniquitous, and bad in policy, unless, indeed, the particular character of the people over whom he ruled forced him to such aggressions. Their ardent spirit, and the warlike propensities which he fostered, made it difficult to satisfy the nation without keeping up its excitement. Commerce, with an increase of individual energy and enterprise, or war, was essential to the internal tranquillity of France. The Emperor could not give them the former. Possessed of the highest military genius, his sentiments were in exact accordance with the wishes of the population as regarded the latter. He was sensible, therefore, for years, that he could not, consistently with the maintenance of his absolute power, turn the minds of the French nation from war to the tranquil pursuits

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of commerce and internal activity and enterprise. He consequently threw himself headlong into the former alternative; the climate and war destroyed his army in Russia: the *prestige* of his invincibility once gone, his allies turned against him, and the French people became unwilling to suffer the loss and damage occasioned by war, not only in their territory, but close to their homes, for the sake of one man.

During Napoleon's reign, some of the requisites for civilisation were augmented. Although he was nearly always engaged in war, yet activity and inland trade slightly increased in France. The Revolution, by causing a subdivision of property, had augmented the middle class; industry, improvement, and the means of acquiring information were spreading rapidly throughout the community. After his unexpected return from Elba, he felt, for the first time in his life, that he must yield to the increasing pressure of public opinion: he therefore called a meeting in the Champ de Mars, to consider the subject of forming a constitution. He allowed the freedom of the press, and gave other indications of his desire to act in accordance with the wishes of the nation. All this, however, had little effect; his critical situation was well known, and his former conduct and sentiments were not forgotten. These acts were, therefore, attributed more to the desperate situation in which he was placed, than to any sincere regard for the wishes or liberty of the people.

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When in power, Napoleon did not act as he spoke in exile. The following sentiments of his are not, perhaps, out of place when quoted here: —

"The march of civilisation and of knowledge tends to make a people free. This new order of things encourages industry and commerce. The greater part of the property, both territorial and personal, as well as information and learning, were found in the middle class at the close of the 18th century. Notwithstanding this, however, the noblesse continued a privileged body. They possessed the power of administering civil and criminal justice, and enjoyed various feudal privileges under a variety of forms and denominations; amongst which were entire exemption from all taxation, and an exclusive right to all the honourable employments in the State. Such abuses naturally excited the murmurs of the citizens and of the middle class. The main object of the Revolution was to abolish these unfair privileges — to set aside a partial administration of justice, and to obtain impartiality in that respect. Another object was, to abrogate entirely all those feudal rights which reminded the people of their slavery in former days; and to bring down every class to pay their fair and just proportion of taxes to the maintenance of the state. Another main object of the Revolution was, to obtain for the French an equality of civil rights, so that every individual might, if his talents qualified him, attain the highest employments." *

* La Cases' Journal de Napoleon, vol. iii. Part vi.

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CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS, AND ACCESSION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

A Charter desired by the French People at the Restoration. — Richelieu, Prime Minister. — Jealousy of Foreign Interposition. — Causes by which Public Opinion was turned against the Bourbons. — Imprudent Acts by Louis XVIII. and Charles X. — Present Law of Inheritance in France. — Dangers arising from it. — Increase of Civilisation in France. — Several Orders of French Society. — Different political Opinions entertained by them. — Deficiency of moral Principle. — Unjust War and profound Peace alike dangerous to the State. — Influence of the French Press on Public Opinion. — Tendency to Centralisation in French Government. — Expediency of colonial Occupation. — Triumph of the Middle Class in France. — State of the Upper Class. — Conflicting political Elements.

When the discomfiture of Napoleon forced his abdication in 1814, and the armies of the Allies brought back the Bourbon dynasty to the throne of France, the people, fatigued by the long and continued wars they had waged, panted for that liberty which they had in vain sought during the Revolution, and were inclined by every means in their power to obtain a charter, and an equality of rights, which the violence of the Revolution, and the military sway of Napoleon, had hitherto kept out

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of their reach. The public sentiment in France ardently desired a constitution; but the entrance of Louis XVIII., backed by foreign troops, and his assumption of regal power under such auspices, were not in accordance with the taste, nor did they suit the pride and dignity, of so great a nation. However, as is cleverly remarked of his accession to the throne in a recent work, — "The Restoration came at last, and at first it seemed as if the old things were to come back in the old ways. A Richelieu, more almost of a Russian than a Frenchman, who knew more of Odessa than of Paris, was made prime minister, in virtue, it might appear, of his family's prescriptive right to rule beneath the Bourbons. The great charges were restored to their former holders, or to the families in which they had become inherent." *

The nation panted for peace, and was desirous of being rid of the ambitious and warlike system adopted by the ex-Emperor; yet nevertheless the restoration of the Bourbons, for the reasons given, could not be said to emanate in any manner from public opinion in the French people.

The Revolution of 1830 was most unquestionably the work of public opinion, and of that sentiment exclusively. It has been called a revolution of the barricades and the act of the mob of Paris. This was not the case. The lower classes were certainly the physical force that worked the deed;

* Smythe, Historical Fancies, p. 15.

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but in so doing they were the organs only, or the tools, if such a term may be used, of public opinion. The members of the middle class, one and all, supported the change. The late disturbances in Lancashire and elsewhere are a contrast to such an event; these were but the effects of popular clamour, and not the result or indication of public opinion.

Let us take a view of the causes by which public opinion was turned so completely against the dynasty of the Bourbon branch, represented by Charles X., who succeeded his brother on the throne of France. The acts of imprudence, if not of folly, committed by the recent monarchs of this race, were so many that all cannot be enumerated. We shall only point to a few of the most remarkable.

Scarcely was Louis XVIII. seated on his throne than he took to himself, for his civil list, thirty-two millions of francs! At a subsequent period this monarch, relying on the 14th section of the Charter, levies on his people one hundred millions of francs without the consent of the Chambers, as they were not sitting at the time. Instead of imitating the example of England, as was the desire of the French people, in regard to the affairs of Spain, the King of France marches an army into that country, to restore a form of government execrated by the Spaniards and by the French equally, and becomes the agent of the northern powers in that affair.

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The charter given by Louis XVIII. to the French was a concession to public opinion, and an admission of the power of the middle class; but, in granting it, that monarch still relied too much on the influence of the noblesse and clergy, who were powerless in the State. Their influence over the lower class was gone, from habit and the loss of that property by which alone it could be retained.

Under Charles X. the National Guards were disbanded, a corps which, in fact, composed and gave strength to public opinion in no ordinary degree; then followed the censorship of the press.

It is difficult to conjecture in what manner this monarch intended to preserve his throne, when he disregarded public opinion and the middle ranks, and acted in defiance of the constitution. He could not think his nobility, whose property and influence were gone, or the clergy, who were in a similar situation, could serve as props to his dynasty, in defiance of public opinion, and the best interests of the country. He probably imagined himself two centuries earlier, in that state of society when the noblesse and the clergy were really the two firmest feet of the tripod on which the throne of France, in 1600, was placed.

It is scarcely necessary to make further remarks on the Revolution of 1830, the most important perhaps in its results of any that has taken place in France. Many of the causes by which public

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opinion was turned against Charles X., are stated by an intelligent French writer.

" We may here enumerate a few of the faults committed by the government under Charles X., not for the sake of disturbing the memory of one who is no more, but to establish clearly the fact, that the only conspiracy formed for overturning his government was the conspiracy concocted by his ministers and himself. Every act of theirs emanated from the desire to debase the middle class. They sedulously nourished the old prejudices against industry. They imagined the power of the Crown to be augmented in the exact proportion that the citizens were debased. Charles X. rejoiced in his strength and good fortune when he had reduced the middle classes to silence, and thought they were unable to offer any resistance. It was therefore this monarch who placed the middle class in the terrible alternative, either to consider themselves as no longer an order in the State, or to rise up and vindicate the violated laws.

" Under Charles X. great indiscretion was shown in managing the affairs of the Church. An attempt was made to re-establish the episcopacy of France in its ancient splendour; to create anew a number of sees, and to destroy the joint reform of Pius VII. and Napoleon. The Pontiff of Rome took offence at the non-observance of what had been established by his predecessors; and ecclesiastical matters were placed in confusion by differences and

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discussions with the court of the Vatican. The imprudent declamations of the clergy spread alarm throughout the country in reference to the re-establishment of the "dime" and the "corvée." Vehement orators, from the tribunes in both Chambers, threw out insinuations renewing former strife, and causing great alarm in the possessors of lands purchased at the Revolution.

"The Prince de Talleyrand was turned out of office to make room for the Duc de Richelieu, and a close alliance with England was neglected, — an union most conformable to the spirit of the new institutions — for the purpose of giving place to the influence of Russia, — an influence contrary to the new feelings created, and contrary to the hopes held out by the Charter. Thus things continued till the fall of Charles X."*

All the events by which the old dynasty of the Bourbons was driven from the throne, and Louis Philippe placed there by the voice of the people, are so well known, and of so recent occurrence, as to render any further detail of them quite unnecessary here.

In the new government established by the middle class, great difficulties necessarily must have been encountered. After having directed and caused the Revolution of 1830, it was their duty and interest to arrest its progress, and to prevent repub-

* Democratie Nouvelle, vol. ii.

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lican principles from proceeding further. The promoters of the Revolution of 1830 were desirous to establish a government of a "juste milieu," similar to the situation in society of the middle rank. They kept apart, and with good reason, all extreme passions, either despotic or democratic. The determination thus adopted required great energy; inasmuch as the reform of government, which they sought successfully to establish, was one which hitherto in France had been deemed impossible. In abolishing all aristocratical privileges, they gave to those of the democratic party hopes, according to their talent, of rising in the State.

Our definition of the middle class must not be lost sight of, inasmuch as public opinion in any country mainly depends on the extent of that body, which has the means of obtaining information and extending civilisation. This class was very much augmented by the change of the law of inheritance during the reign of Napoleon, by which the property of the parent was distributed nearly equally amongst the children, with particular exceptions, at his option, in favour of the eldest. This law, as far as it has been carried, may have proved of service to the cause of public opinion, by increasing the means of its influence; but it seems questionable how far its continuance will ultimately strengthen public opinion or increase the middle rank of society.

A recent writer says, that "The French law of

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inheritance is in its nature a republican law — a law not only republican, but essentially levelling, and in the broadest sense democratic.

"It may be wondered at that Bonaparte seemed to have forgotten the incompatibility of such an institution with the spirit of a monarchical system.

"The solution is, that Bonaparte never misunderstood the effects of that extraordinary law, but found in it an instrument, and no weak one, for the promotion of his peculiar policy.

"His was not a limited monarchy, which finds support in the aristocratic power. It was a despotism, which dreaded the creation of such a power as a check. Nor was that of Bonaparte a civil, but altogether a military government. In his army there were degrees enough, and chiefs, and subalterns, and an armed but equalised multitude, from the bosom of which all candidates for promotion in life, that is, in the camp, were selected by his sole authority, as all honours, emoluments, and favours proceeded from his supreme, and sometimes capricious, will. This armed hierarchy was the support of Napoleon's empire; the nation was but a depôt whence recruits were taken. The aristocracy of the sword much more than neutralised the democratic principle of the infinite subdivision of land. An hereditary aristocracy would have rebelled against the law of conscription as an intolerable grievance.

"The latter law was facilitated, and rendered in

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some degree popular, by a provision for the descent of property, which gradually swept away all distinctions of territorial wealth, and left the subjects of a despot each to stand on the level of his personal acquisitions and pretensions. But the levelling character of this law was no longer overpowered, or in any sensible manner counteracted, after the downfall of the military sway of Bonaparte. The Chamber of Peers under the Bourbons was but a band of pensioners. It had no root in the soil — no stake in the country — no influence over the people: it was neither a restraint upon the Crown, nor a protection to it.

"Military pomp, moreover, was the only pageantry in whose favour any decided taste seems to have survived among the nation. The court of the Bourbons was sneered at for its obsolete frivolity, and hated for its enormous expense.

The predominant and visible inclination of the Bourbon government was towards an evasion of all such provisions of the Charter as protected the rights of the people, and to extend those which favoured the royal prerogative. Hence a deep and general distrust of the designs of those princes and their counsellors — hence also a disposition to construe the Charter largely in all its promised safeguards against the Crown. Hence, and from the all-pervading influence of the democratising law above referred to, there has grown up in France within some years, a strong, though, in many cases,

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unconscious passion for cutting down the kingly authority to a point as low (if not still more so) as would be consistent with the exercise of any effective power by the first executive officer of a pure republic.

Should a given quantity of land be sufficient to form a middle class in any nation composed of any given number, if the number of persons is doubled or quadrupled on the same quantity of land, the result is, that the whole becomes a lower class, instead of a middle; and it has been already observed more than once, that the state of public opinion and the liberty enjoyed in any country, depend much on the relative proportions of the several classes of society — that liberty and public opinion depend in a great measure on the extent of the middle class compared to the lower. Now, if the lower class be augmented and the middle class diminished, that relative proportion is altered in a manner likely to be injurious to liberty, and to civilisation and public opinion. Such may be the result of the law of inheritance at present established in France, unless it happens to be corrected by the amount of capital created and added to the general stock, and usually to the middle class, by the extension of commerce and manufactures in that land; which, considering the activity of the people and the natural advantages of the country, may ensue. Without this counteraction, popular clamour might supersede public opinion.

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Those who amass wealth by commerce will be enabled to purchase the portions of land too small to be of much service to the owner, and in this way the increase of territorial possession in one individual may take place. It seems to be a feeling commonly entertained by man, that if his estate is to continue undivided to his successors, he will be inclined to preserve it for his family; but if he knows it will, after him, be subdivided, his desire to perpetuate ceases, and he is more willing to dispose of his inheritance.

It would appear, from a work of authority, that in 1818 there were 10,414,121 properties in France. Now, supposing that more than one property may occasionally belong to one proprietor, and making an allowance accordingly, he estimates the number of individual proprietors to be 4,833,000; and as most of these are heads of families, which may on an average be taken to consist of five persons, he estimates the total class of proprietors of land to amount to 14,479,830, making nearly half the whole population of France.*

Another writer on the state of France says:— "The situation of small proprietors in France is scarcely better than that of a common labourer in England, except the spirit of independence that property inspires. It appears, however, that some alteration in the law of succession is absolutely necessary

* Duke of Gäeta's "Memoires sur le Cadastre," 1818.

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in that country, as a further subdivision of property will, amongst other evils, occasion a chance of scarcity, from the want of power to withhold produce from the market, a want of capital to make improvements in agriculture, and other inconveniences that will readily suggest themselves.

"In France the army is more connected with the small landed proprietors than in England; the privates are either the sons or the brothers of landholders, and therefore may be said in general to be of a more respectable description than the common soldiers elsewhere. Supposing the law to remain as it affects at present the subdivision of land in France, it is clear that each portion of land will in time become so small as to be scarcely capable (population still increasing) to support the family to whom it belongs. Supposing the numbers still to increase, there would at length be a total disability to provide for such an increase; and in the event of an unfavourable year, the community, with few exceptions, being equally poor and similarly circumstanced, would be unable to import corn or provisions; and, as a consequence, want, if not famine, would be felt throughout the country. Not only does such an augmentation of the lower class prove injurious to the wealth and prosperity of the community, but, in a political point of view, it is favourable to the establishment of a military despotism."

When such general poverty prevailed as then would be the case, those would be best provided for

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who served the State in some situation or other, as soldiers, for example. These, finding themselves better off, and more favoured than others of their class not in the army, would naturally look for the continuance of such favours, or for further advancement, to some leader or favourite general who might have talent and art sufficient to make himself beloved by the army. Others, desirous of partaking similar benefits with the soldiery, would naturally entertain similar sentiments. A military leader, supported by such a body of disciplined men, and unawed by an upper or enlightened middle class of society, might become all-powerful, and assume the direction of the State on the destruction of public opinion and injury of civilisation.

To ascertain with any precision the time when civilisation in France will be as powerful as in England, is not easy; but that such will be the ultimate result seems, from the daily increase of all the requisites for the formation of public opinion, which are extending themselves so rapidly through that kingdom, to be beyond any doubt.

The constitutional form of government, based on a national representative system, obtained by the revolution of 1830, has now been established a considerable time, and is likely, as wealth, trade, civilisation, and the middle classes increase, to continue for ages, and to advance also, by sound laws, the liberty of the people.

One, and, perhaps the only, danger to which the

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constitution now established in France is liable, arises from this, that the political education and moral principle of the French are not equal to the degree of liberty which they have obtained. The same may be said of other nations on the Continent, whose population either has acquired, or is desirous of acquiring, a perfectly liberal form of government, and perfect freedom in the election of representatives, before the moral character and, if it may be so styled, the political character of the people has rendered them qualified to enjoy that blessing.

"The consequence of the *immediate* extension of the elective franchise to *every* male adult, would be, to place power in the hands of men who have been rendered brutal and torpid and ferocious by ages of slavery. It is to suppose that the qualities belonging to a demagogue are such as are sufficient to endow a legislator. Nothing can be less consistent with reason, or afford smaller hopes of any beneficial issue, than changes of government before the public mind, through many gradations of improvement, shall have arrived at the maturity which can disregard the symbols of its childhood." *

Let us for a moment take into consideration the several orders of society in France, and ascertain how they support, or oppose, the present constitution.

The French community consists of the high and

* Shelley "On Reform."

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low clergy, the old noblesse, the Chamber of Peers, ennobled for life, the great land-holders, the petty land-holders, the army, the literary circles, merchants, the great bulk of the middle class not included in the above, and the paupers in town and country.

Now, let us take each of these different orders, and consider how far public opinion is in favour of the present constitutional government of the country.

The upper clergy are decidedly hostile to the present state of things, and regret the subversion of the old dynasty. The lower clergy, "curés de paroisses," partake in these sentiments, but in a less degree.

The old noblesse, deprived of their rank and of their privileges, which are abolished for ever, long for the old system under the former dynasty, and, like the high clergy, are inimical to the existing government.

The present Chamber of Peers is, of course, for the present order of things.

The great land-holders are not inclined to favour the existing system.

The large fund-holders are in its favour.

The middle class is heart and soul with the present constitution in France.

The army, from its being chiefly officered by those of the middle classes, follows the sentiments of that class, and supports of course the King and constitution.

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The legal profession and the literary world in Paris cannot be said to favour the existing order of affairs; and probably the present form of government has more to apprehend from them, than from any other class by which it is opposed. Most of the persons of whom this portion of the community is formed, are men of an active mind, occasionally editors or writers in newspapers, and who, generally speaking, are discontented, under the impression that the station in life which they occupy is not commensurate to their talents or education. The persons in this situation in life are more to be feared by Louis-Philippe than the old legitimate party, having more energy, more talent, more knowledge of the state of parties and the sentiments of the lower class, than the old noblesse, secluded in the gloom of the Faubourg St. Germain.

The lower class in general, in France as elsewhere, are guided by the class immediately above them, by whom they are usually employed in the first instance, and to whom, having more immediate intercourse with them than with the other classes, they look up for advice.

The paupers in towns and in the country, having nothing to lose, would be careless regarding political events, and would support that party by whom they should be best relieved.

Thus, it appears that the high clergy, the old noblesse, the legal and many literary men, are

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either indifferent to, or against, the established order of things in France; but that all the rest of the community, that is, by far the most influential, most powerful, most wealthy and intelligent portion, is entirely in favour of the Revolution of 1830.

The parties opposed to the present dynasty are too weak to alter this sentiment, so general throughout the nation. In stating this, however, let us not be understood to assert, that the present government in France, although now supported by public opinion, cannot by any means be in danger. Such is not the case; but let us consider how any remote doubt respecting its duration may be entertained.

It seems that danger might accrue to the constitution of 1830 from three distinct causes. Of these, the first and most to be apprehended arises from the possibility, that moral principle may be deficient throughout the population in France. It is not intended to insinuate that religious sentiment is now utterly deficient, but only to remark, that if by any possibility its existence is not found in a community with a great degree of civilisation, there would be no barrier for restless and unquiet men. The laws would be set at nought, and a fearful upset might take place, which no legislative or moral power could control.

Another danger may arise from an unjust, or unnecessary, war. If successful, a military despotism might be apprehended, from the power of the army; if otherwise, an internal commotion among

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the people might be dreaded. Any war in which France engages, not sanctioned by public opinion, would endanger her constitution and the welfare of the country.

It may appear problematical to say, that a third danger may arise to the constitution in France, from a state of profound peace. It is singular that a state of war, as already observed, might prove injurious, and that a state of entire peace might also be dangerous! A few words will explain this apparent contradiction.

The French people are active, fond of enterprise, anxious to extend the name, and to raise the glory of their country. A vast population of ardent young men is springing up, desirous to improve their condition, or to follow some active pursuit, which, while it would be of an exciting nature, would promote their individual advantage.

The remark has already been made, that a civilised community must either have manufactures, an extended trade, domestic and foreign, be engaged in wars, or have popular commotions at home. The extension of trade and commerce in France is very great, and daily increasing; but it may scarcely keep pace with the increasing population, and satisfy the restlessness of the people. The colonisation of Algeria, and the occupation it gives to the French arms, is one of the surest pledges of the peace of Europe, as far as France is concerned.

The press has been considered to be a very dan-

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gerous engine in France, where as yet the middle class may not be so extensive or influential as in Great Britain. The press in France had vast influence on public opinion, from the year 1825 to the Revolution in 1830. Since that period, its influence has been gradually lessening, from the increased number of publications, and the spread of education amongst the community, which now exercises its own judgment.

The leading fault of the French system of government seems to be, the spirit of centralisation. Two impulses of totally different directions took place in the Revolution in France; one favourable to liberty, the other to despotism. Under the ancient monarchy, although the sovereign was the sole author of the laws, yet certain vestiges of local institutions were discernible. In the year 1775, Malsherbes, in his address to Louis XIV., says, "Every corporation and every community of citizens retained the right of administering its own affairs; nevertheless, your subjects, Sire, have been deprived of it, and we cannot refrain from saying that the government has fallen into extremes."

These provincial institutions, it may be said, were ill constructed, in many cases inconsistent; and, in the hands of the feudal power, had been oppressive. When the Revolution took place, it not only attacked royalty, but the local institutions. It confounded in its indiscriminate destruction both despotic power and the check to its cause. The tend-

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ency was towards republicanism and centralisation. This double character of the French Revolution was most destructive to liberty in the hands of Napoleon, who followed the course of the old Bourbons in promoting the central administration under the central power. Even at the early period of the Revolution it was observed, "There is no country where the mania for overgoverning has taken deeper root than in France, or been the source of greater mischief." *

One of the chief bulwarks of liberty are provincial institutions and self-government, where a middle class is sufficiently well informed to cause them to be fairly administered. The general establishment of local institutions and of local administration is much wanted in France, and will serve to secure the liberties of the people. Centralisation ought to be avoided by those who fear the rule of absolute power, and who entertain an apprehension from the chance of anarchy.

"I am inclined to think," says a modern French author †, "that a state of partial war, that is, a colonial occupation for the purpose of civilisation, can be the only means, during the ten approaching years, to carry off the superfluous ardour of our military population. Now that the people are becoming civilised, and in possession of poli-

* Letters from Madison to Jefferson, 28th Aug. 1789.

† M. Edouard Alletz.

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tical liberty, the future object of the community will be, to supplant warfare by industry, and to promote the welfare of citizens. A free nation, not addicted to war, naturally becomes commercial. Industrious labour will be the foundation of our future power. Every century seems to have its distinctive direction of the public mind. From the middle to the end of the nineteenth century, the advent to power of the middle classes, the application of the principles of Christianity to legislation, and the unfolding of national industry, are the features which will render it remarkable to posterity. The necessary result of the civilisation of France is, to promote the extension of the above characteristics."

In corroboration of this theory, we will here give the sentiments of a celebrated statesman, delivered not long ago in the Chamber of Deputies.

"It is necessary that all classes and all powers in the State should admit this fact of the present epoch, namely, the complete triumph of the middle class, which now occupies that place in the affairs of the State to which it is entitled. The following is the language that must be held to that newly-acquired power:—'You have conquered, by your intelligence and courage, all those former means of disturbing the peace of society—all those antiquated notions of names and things which must now disappear; these must give place to the new order of affairs and of society, such as is demanded for

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the interests of France, and such as were obtained by the Revolution of 1789, and confirmed by that of 1830.'" *

Thus we see the same results have arisen, and are now in progress in France, as we have described in England. We observe a people immersed in ignorance, and with no symptom of public opinion, governed in a despotic manner. We trace the gradual formation of the requisites for civilisation. As these increase, though by imperceptible degrees, in the same proportion does the influence of despotism diminish, although, perhaps, destroyed only by a convulsion of some sort or other. Under whatever point of view the history of France is considered, the same results are apparent. In the two most enlightened and civilised nations of Europe, the all-powerful influence of public opinion is traced, with results nearly similar.

This impulse, both in France and elsewhere, is so powerful that it cannot be checked; it may, perhaps, be modified, if not directed. The first duty, the imperative duty of the Legislature in France, for its own security, and that of the nation, is to inform and educate the lower classes, to create moral principle on sound religious belief, to direct the energies of an active, industrious, and well-disposed population in the proper channel, and to discourage, as far as possible, the tendency to

* Guizot's speech.

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increase in the lower class in proportion to the increase of the middle class. The energies and means of improvement, and of acquiring wealth, in France, are, if drawn out properly, immense.

It cannot, however, be concealed, that the upper class in France are not sufficiently numerous or wealthy to give any strength to a house of peers, which must, as at present constituted, resemble the Senate in the United States. The property of the members elected for life as peers in France, is not sufficient to form any fence round the throne, or to give any dignity or *éclat* to that order in the State; and it does not appear easy to imagine in what manner this deficiency can be remedied. Probably the creation of wealth, by encouraging to the utmost commercial industry, may be of use. An upper class in France, therefore, can scarcely be said, as a body, to exist. The sovereign may distribute peerages or give orders and decorations, to increase his popularity, or to gain votes in the Chamber; but when the peers are deficient in property, their individual influence is little or nothing in the nation, beyond that arising from their individual talents or exertions.

Most truly does a writer of the present day observe, that "it is proper that the French nation should invoke the assistance of religion, for they must and ought to know, that liberty cannot be established without morality, nor morality without religious faith; but they have seen their ad-

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versaries pretending to morality, and they inquire no farther. Some of them attack it openly, and the remainder are afraid to defend it."* He adds, "Where are we then in France? The religionists are the enemies of liberty, and the friends of liberty attack religion; the high-minded and the noble advocate subjection, and the meanest and most servile minds preach independence; honest and enlightened citizens are opposed to all progress, whilst men without patriotism and without intelligence are the apostles of improvement and of intelligence."

After the Revolution of 1830, and until March 1831, it was a moot point whether public opinion or popular clamour was most influential. The lower and middle classes were at issue in reference to the relations of France with England. The former were vehement for war, and the latter desired a continuance of peace. At length the matter was settled by the preponderating influence of the middle class, or in other words, of the peace-party. The state of opinion between the conflicting bodies (*la doctrine, et le tiers-parti*) resembles a balance, of which the throne is the fulcrum. Let us hope that for years, until the moral principle in France is more fully developed, this fulcrum, on which both parties rest, will remain as powerful as at present. To lessen its influence, might be incurring the danger either of despotism or anarchy.

* Tocqueville.

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From this account of the state of sentiment in France, one may arrive at the conclusion, that the excesses committed at the Revolution, and the subsequent tyranny under Napoleon, arose from a deficiency of the moral principle,—deficient, because not founded on religious belief.

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CHAPTER V.

SPAIN.

State of Spanish Society in the Middle Ages. — Its Resemblance to that in England and France at the same Period. — Extension of the Monarchy. — Despotic Power. — Ignorance, Superstition, and Brutality of the Lower Class. — The Cortes of Castile. — Spain injured, rather than benefited, by the Wealth of the Indies. — Elements of Civilisation dormant.

Society, when it emerged from barbarism in Spain, resembled that state already described as existing at the same time in England and in France. At first the country appears divided into provinces or petty kingdoms, each contending with its neighbour; and we perceive, as elsewhere, all the jealousies, passions, and violence, exhibited by man against his fellow man. To this ensued the contests of great proprietors against each other in the days of chivalry. These being gradually subdued and brought into subjection by the sovereign, were succeeded by absolute power.

Then followed a constant series of wars, either foreign or domestic, for family compacts, or arising from the caprice or ambition of the ruler; and lastly, a more liberal system of government slowly dawned, and a form of representation was brought about by

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the middle class, which had never before existed. As in England and France, we see Spain improved as soon as an absolute monarchy had annihilated domestic feuds and petty wars, and consolidated all the discordant elements of the country under one uniform plan of government. This epoch was commenced under Ferdinand and Isabella, and was consummated by their successors. By the discoveries of Columbus and other adventurous navigators, Spain acquired the wealth of the new world.

We will just give an example of the state of the country previous to the consolidation of monarchy. "Rodrigo Ponce de Leon is a complete exemplification of the Spanish cavalier of the olden time. Temperate, vigilant, and valorous; kind to his vassals, frank towards his equals, faithful and loving to his friends, terrible yet magnanimous to his enemies. Contemporary historians extol him as the mirror of chivalry, and compare him to the immortal Cid. His ample possessions extended over the most fertile parts of Andalusia, including many towns and fortresses. A host of retainers, ready to follow him to danger or to death, fed in his castle hall, which waved with banners taken from the Moors. His armouries glittered with helms and cuirasses and weapons of all kinds, ready burnished for use, and his stables were filled with hardy steeds, trained to a mountain scamper. This ready preparation arose not merely from his residence on the Moorish border: he had a formid-

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able foe near at hand in Juan de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, one of the most wealthy of Spanish nobles. An hereditary feud subsisted between these two noblemen; and, as Ferdinand and Isabella had not yet succeeded in their plan of reducing the independent and dangerous power of the nobles of Spain, the whole province of Andalusia was convulsed by their strife. They waged war against each other like sovereign princes, regarding neither the authority of the Crown nor the welfare of the country. Every fortress and castle became a strong hold of their partisans, and a kind of club law prevailed over the land, like the *faust recht* once exercised by the robber-counts of Germany. The sufferings of the province awakened the solicitude of Isabella, and brought her to Seville, where, seated on a throne in a great hall of the Alcazar, or Moorish palace, she held an open audience to receive petitions and complaints."*

From this sketch, the state of society in Spain in those days may easily be imagined. Incessant petty warfare was carried on by one great chief against another; their vassals or dependents were led to mutual slaughter, and it could only be a great blessing to the people to get rid of such a system, and be united under one monarch. Even pure unmixed despotism was preferable to the despotism of a hundred petty tyrants. Precisely

* Conquest of Granada.

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the same state of things was terminated in England under Henry VII., and in France under the administration of Cardinal de Richelieu. The slow progress of civilisation in most of the nations of Europe seems to have passed over the same ground.

After the extension of the monarchy over part of Spain, and the extinction of the small kingdoms into which it was divided, great part of the landed property seems to have been in the hands of the Crown and the Church (including, under this appellation, convents, monasteries, and religious foundations of every description). Scarcely was any personal property then in existence, and the power of the aristocracy, or upper class, decreased in proportion as that of the Crown and the Church augmented. The old feudal chiefs, instead of residing in their castles and living in the country in the centre of their vassals and dependents, fell under the influence of the Court, and were content to accept at the hands of the monarch, ribbons, gold keys, and other decorations. This change certainly produced a beneficial effect on the Spanish community.

"The success of Charles V. in breaking the power of the nobles of Castile, encouraged Philip, his son, to invade the liberties of Aragon, which were still more extensive. The Castilians, accustomed to subjection themselves, assisted in imposing the yoke on their more happy and independent neighbours. The will of the sovereign became the supreme law in all the kingdoms of Spain. When

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Cardinal Ximenes, the minister to the sovereign, who was crushing the power of his barons, was by a deputation from their body asked the reasons for the supreme power assumed by his master, he took the nobles to a window overlooking a plain, in which appeared a well-disciplined body of troops ready to execute the Cardinal's commands: 'There,' exclaimed Ximenes, 'are my reasons; those are my arguments for my sovereign's conduct.'" *

The lower classes were left in ignorance, poverty, and idleness, placing no reliance on their own exertions, but depending, when in need, on the eleemosynary assistance derived from religious houses. The monarch, united with the head of the Romish Church, retained his people in physical subjection by a powerful army, and in moral subjection by swarms of monks and friars. To this may be added, the demoralisation occasioned by bullion from the mines of the newly-discovered regions, which encouraged idleness and vice. Afterwards we see the brutality of the people in deriving occasional gratification from witnessing *auto-da-fés* and the burning of Jews and heretics, or supposed heretics, as a pastime, which, in their opinion, fulfilled the precepts of Christianity and of moral principle.

This we believe will be found to be the true picture of the state of the community in Spain,

* Robertson's Charles V., b. xii.

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from the establishment of one entire kingdom until within a few years, with the occasional change of being involved in wars and contests, wherein the people had no concern; and being now and then overrun and pillaged by foreign armies, who came, as they said, to protect the rights of the sovereign, and the happiness of the people.

" The King possessed such a degree of power as gave him the entire command of his subjects; the people were strangers to those occupations and habits of life which render men averse to war, or unfit for it; and the nobles, though reduced to that subordination necessary in a regular government, still retained the high, undaunted spirit which was the effect of their ancient independence."*

Mention is frequently made of the Cortes of Castile and of other provinces by several historians; and it is asserted, that these bodies often endeavoured to oppose some resistance to the arbitrary edicts of the sovereign by remonstrances, much in the same manner as the various parliaments of France remonstrated against the arbitrary or tyrannical acts of Louis XIV., XV., or XVI.; but the appeals of the former were as unsuccessful as those of the latter, and all endeavours to arrest the ambitious views or despotic power of the monarch in one country were as fruitless as in the other. As well might the English Parliament, during the

* Robertson's Charles V., b. xii.

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reign of the Tudors, have attempted to oppose despotism. The materials by which the Spanish people could establish a constitution and secure their independence, were not then in existence. The few grandees, or men of considerable property, were too disunited, and entertained too much jealousy of each other, not to succumb under papal and monarchical influence. The lower class were too ignorant, and too much under the control of monks and friars, to enter into political discussion, and not to follow the impulse given by such personages.

It was manifestly neither possible nor desirable that any other form of government than absolute monarchy should exist, until the elements of civilisation were more fully diffused amongst the people. It may appear singular, that the English Parliament could successfully resist Charles I., and that the Spanish Cortes could not offer any adequate opposition to the power of their sovereigns when exercised in an arbitrary manner.

"The Cortes of Castile, assembled at Toledo, A.D. 1539, refused to assist the King in loans of money. The nobles, in particular, dwelt on the valuable and distinguished privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any loan or tax. The King, after employing arguments, entreaties, and promises, but without success, in order to overcome their obstinacy, dismissed the assembly with great indignation. From that period

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neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to these assemblies; none have been admitted to the Cortes but the procurators or representatives of eighteen cities."*

After the acquisition of the New World, when immense riches, found in Mexico, Peru, and other parts of America, fell under Spanish domination, it might appear probable that an extensive middle class would have sprung up. Such, however, was not the case. Pride and love of ease prevented exertion. The wealth of the Indies, poured into Spain, passed rapidly into other countries, where energy, and commercial and manufacturing industry, were fostered. " D'environ cinquante millions (francs) de merchandises qui vont toutes les années aux Indes, l'Espagne ne fournit que deux millions et demi. Le Roi d'Espagne reçoit de grandes sommes de sa douane de Cadix. C'est une mauvaise espèce de richesse q'un tribut d'accident, et qui ne dépend pas de l'industrie de la nation. Si quelques provinces de la Castile lui donnaient une somme pareille à celle de la douane de Cadix, sa puissance serait bien plus grande."†

The Spanish population, like the infirm parish paupers in England, received money which was quickly expended, and continued nearly as poor as ever; whilst other nations, who supplied their

* Sandoval, Hist. vol. iii. p. 269.
† Esprit des Lois, ch. xxii.

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wants and administered to their luxuries, gradually absorbed the wealth wrung from the sinews of the wretched Indians, who toiled for Spain in search of precious metals in the mines of America.

"The English," says an old writer, "have a vast trade with Spain; for Spain does either consume the English commodities at home, or else exchange them for silver, by sending them to America." *

"Cette fertile peninsule, qui malgré les frequentes sécheresses qu'elle éprouve nourissait 20 millions d'habitants avant la découverte du nouveau monde, et qui avait été de plus le grenier de Rome et d'Italie, serait couverte de ronces. La perte de la population, des manufactures, du commerce, de l'agriculture, fut suivie des plus grands maux; tandis que l'Europe s'éclairait rapidement, et q'une industrie nouvelle animait tous les peuples, l'Espagne tombait dans l'inaction et la barbarie." †

"What has been done and what will continue to be done, in such a state of society, I shall not dwell upon. I shall only, in one word, mention the horrid effects of bigotry and avarice in the conquest of Spanish America; a conquest, on a low estimation, effected by the murder of ten millions of the species."‡

Thus did a nation, inferior to none in Europe in advantages of soil and climate, possessed of the

* Puffendorff, Introd. Hist. Europe, 8vo. p. 160.
† Raynal's Hist. Philos., vol. iii. 384.
‡ Burke's View of Society.

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richest colonies in the known world, and of most ample means for creating wealth, independence, and information, gradually sink into poverty, fanaticism, and ignorance, as well as political insignificance. The establishment of the Inquisition, the *auto-da-fés*, the manner in which justice was administered, the decrease of population, and the disuse of all natural advantages, establish this truth.

The elements of civilisation, though inherent in the people, could not, under such circumstances, manifest themselves, and no improvement seems to have taken place for some centuries in the relative proportions of several classes of the community.

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CHAPTER VI.

SPAIN.

Appearance of a Middle Class. — War of Succession. — Napoleon's Attempt to supersede the old Dynasty of Spain. — Causes of its Failure. — The Peninsular War. — Its Effect on the National Mind. — Increasing Power of the Middle Class. — Benefits arising to Spain from the Loss of her Colonies. — Progress of Civilisation.

In progress of time, the trade and commercial intercourse carried on through Cadiz to America, together with the commerce of a few Spanish towns on the Mediterranean, encouraged a middle class in those places to make its appearance. A similar occurrence might also have taken place in Madrid and Seville, from the encouragement given to manufactures, and therefore to industry, by the wants of the Court and of the upper class, congregated in the first, and occasionally in the second of these cities, the former the residence of the sovereign, and the seat of government.

The contest regarding the succession to the monarchy in Spain, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, commonly styled the War of Succession, arising from a dispute whether Charles or Philip should ascend the throne, in some respects

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resembles the wars of the Roses that took place in England. It seems that the population in Spain, during the above-mentioned contest, was advanced about the same degree in civilisation as in England during the conflicts of York and Lancaster. In both cases, the interests of the people were not concerned. No constitutional advantages were to be obtained; no boon to the public was in question: the nation was torn to pieces by civil contention, to gratify the caprice or ambitious projects of two factions eager to engross the power which one or other of the claimants to the throne would bestow on them if successful. Allusion is here made to the subject, to show how small a degree of civilisation could exist either in Spain or England at these periods. A powerful and enlightened middle class would never have tolerated such a contention. For example, nothing of the sort occurred in England in 1688, or at the decease of Queen Anne, although as strong an inclination might have existed for another state of things in many individuals, of which the opposite factions were composed. But the influence of public opinion and of civilisation was, at the fore-mentioned epochs, too powerful to allow of any struggle.

When the emperor of the French put aside the dynasty which had so long occupied the throne of Spain, and seated his brother in its place, he probably imagined that little opposition would be made by the people to such a change. He must have

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thought that the upper class, or nobility, might easily be induced to support his cause, which indeed was generally the case; that whatever small portion of a middle class was to be found, would also be in his favour, as opposed to the absolute power assumed by the old Government; and that the lower class were too ignorant to have any opinion on the subject; so that his brother, assisted by French bayonets, would find little difficulty in being universally acknowledged. Napoleon ought, however, to have recollected, that in proportion as the lower class are ignorant in a Roman Catholic country, they are under the influence of their priests*, and that the latter would be against him, foreseeing the rapacity of King Joseph and the sequestration of the church lands. Besides, he did not make sufficient allowance for the peculiar pride of the Spaniards, which, when once roused, could not easily be subdued. Another very important consideration also was entirely overlooked by Napoleon. Whatever middle class was found in Spain, was in the chief towns and maritime places, and had been formed entirely by commerce. Subjection to the French, and obedience to King Joseph, would, they foresaw, necessarily place them in a state of hosti-

* "Chez les peuples barbares, les prêtres ont ordinairement du pouvoir, parcequ'ils ont et l'autorité qu'ils doivent tenir de la religion, et la puissance que chez des peuples pareils donne la superstition." — *Montesquieu, de l'Esprit des Lois*, liv. xviii. c. xxxi.

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lity with England, by whose maritime power their commerce would be annihilated.*

In consequence of Napoleon's attempt to displace the old dynasty, and substitute his brother, and the resistance made by the mass of the population, encouraged and assisted by Great Britain, the war in the Peninsula took place, during which no great increase could arise in the numbers of the middle class, or in the extent of public opinion. The events that occurred during the continuance of the contest might perhaps excite a spirit of inquiry amongst the upper and middle classes, and convince them of the weakness of that government to which such implicit obedience had formerly been yielded. It might also tend to diffuse information to a certain extent; but, like all contests in which the internal or external commerce and communication of a people are checked, it must have retarded the increase of the elements for civilisation.

After the French armies were driven out of the Peninsula, and the local and provisional juntas exercised some authority, the middle class of the Spanish people, rescued from foreign aggression, desired the formation of a constitutional government, and made efforts for that purpose.

At a subsequent period (1821), the middle classes in Cadiz, Madrid, and other towns, deemed

* The following proverb has long been current in the maritime towns of Spain: "Con todo il mundo guerra, y paz con Inglaterra."

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themselves sufficiently powerful to give tone to public opinion, and with the support of the army, and not against the sanction of the lower class, to call together a Cortes, or national assembly, and to lay the foundation of a constitution.

It does not appear, however, that the elements of civilisation at the time were sufficiently extended over the community to establish and secure the permanence of this new order of things. The upper class had little or no power; the middle class was not considerable; the clergy retained much influence over the minds of the lower class; and the mass of the latter, when supported by a foreign force, was too powerful for the recently organised middle class, by which public opinion was directed in the places already enumerated.

The loss of the colonies of Spain may induce more energy and commercial activity in the mother country; and although at present their industry is not great, — although the Catholic clergy have still considerable influence over the minds of the mass of the population, which influence may be directed to retain them in their former state; yet the Spanish people are in general well disposed, have quickness of intellect, much pride, and a spirit of independence that makes it not improbable that the requisites for civilisation will rapidly gain ground.

The situation of Spain in 1843 was very singular. It may be assumed as a general position, that any nation in which civilisation is making progress, must,

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as already observed, either be occupied by foreign and internal trade, commerce and manufactures, external war, or internal dissensions. Spain has not much of the first, and unfortunately the last have been frequent of late years. The wretched government, and the dark superstition, that have ruled over her for centuries, have placed her behind the rest of Europe: facility of communication, one of the elements of civilisation, is wanting. This deficiency of very late years has been partially supplied by steam navigation, but not to any great extent, from the want of navigable rivers. Much, however, may be done to make up for these deficiencies. What melancholy reflections does not the situation of this favoured country and fine population create, when we reflect on the centuries of ignorance, bigotry, and despotism to which Spain has been subjected!

"From the era of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, Spain has continued to decline; she has declined in population, industry, and vigour. From being the first kingdom in Europe, she has become one of the least considerable. Portugal has experienced a like fall since the settlement of Brazil, and from the same cause." *

What a difference would there have been in the present situation of those colonies in North and South America which formerly appertained to

* Russell's Modern Europe, vol. ii. p. 206.

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Spain, had they been discovered, colonised, and improved, as our settlements were in the United States of that continent! Had the stimulus of activity, and the advantage of impartial justice and moral principle been instilled in the Mexican and Peruvian communities two centuries ago, what an appearance would those fine regions exhibit at present in their population, their productions, their wealth and importance! For the happiness of mankind, let us hope that the misrule and false institutions of two centuries may be speedily amended by civilisation, now advancing in so rapid a manner.

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CHAPTER VII.

PORTUGAL.

Spain inferior to Portugal in Facility of Communication. — Maritime Exertions of the Portuguese. — Colonial Riches, as in Spain, injurious to the Mother-Country. — Portuguese Bigotry and Cruelty. — Reduction of the Baronial Power by John II. — Commerce patronised by that Monarch. — Yoke of Spain thrown off by Portugal. — Deficiency in the Elements of Civilisation. — Passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope discovered. — Extensive Foreign Possessions of the Portuguese. — Corrupt State of the Government. — Public Opinion in the Commercial Towns. — Desire for a Constitutional Government. — Present Advance of Civilisation.

THE principal difference between Spain and Portugal seems to be, the superior facility of communication that might be possessed by Portugal from her extended line of sea coast, in proportion to the interior of the country, and one or two considerable rivers.

A few centuries only have passed since the Portuguese were an active and intelligent people, who, by maritime exertions, extended their discoveries over many parts of the western hemisphere. Strange as it may appear, they were better acquainted with the elements of civilisation in the middle of the

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seventeenth century, than at the commencement of the nineteenth.

The wealth sent to the mother country from her colonies in Brazil, India, and Africa, did not enrich the people at home. Instead of stimulating their industry, it caused the same result as in Spain. The population became idle, and the wealth poured into Portugal was transferred either to England or Holland, for manufactures which the industry of Portugal, properly directed, might have produced.

Another cause, however, had a great effect on Portuguese prosperity. A total deficiency of moral principle pervaded all ranks, and poisoned the very source of national welfare. What could be expected from a people who could be so debased, so sunk and absorbed in bigotry, as to imagine, like the Spaniards, that they were fulfilling a moral duty in celebrating *auto-da-fés*, and burning Jews, and others obnoxious to the authorities, and, a still greater crime, who were possessed of money. Look at the atrocities of this description committed in the parent state, at Goa, and in all the possessions of Portugal, in those days; and let any one say whether a population that could not only quietly witness such fearful outrages, but actually rejoice and take a pleasure in them, could be said to possess any of the requisites for civilisation; whether they were not inferior, in that quality, even to the worst population in Rome or in Greece, where the gladiatorial exhibitions at least evinced

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fortitude, and were certainly more humane than the periodical burnings under the name of religion.

There is no necessity to enter into the history of the nation. Nearly the same results will appear as in Spain. The power of the great barons was reduced, and the influence of the crown fully established, under John II., in the latter part of the fifteenth century. In the reign of his successor Emanuel, the passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, and also the Brazils were annexed to Portugal. John II. is stated by historians to have been a great patron of commerce, particularly of that opened to his subjects with Congo; it was not until his successor's reign that the passage by the Cape and the Brazils was discovered. When told by Congo, who discovered that part of the world called by his name, that the country had gold mines, "Never look for them," said John; "treat the population with justice and humanity, carry them what they want, and you will get their gold without digging for it." Had this wise and enlightened maxim been adopted by the Portuguese, they would not have remained in that state from which it is to be hoped they are now emerging into civilisation.

About two centuries have elapsed since the Portuguese, by a simultaneous movement arising from a conspiracy among their leading men, threw off the yoke of Spain, which had been imposed on them for several years, and proclaimed John of Braganza as

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their king. This revolution*, by which the Spanish Vice-queen lost her power, and the old dynasty was restored, could only arise from the unanimous sentiments of the entire population. It was the work of an oppressed people throwing off the dominion of a foreign power, a dominion most hateful to them in every respect. When we consider the state of civilisation at this period, we cannot imagine much public opinion could be found; but whatever portion of that sentiment did exist, was decidedly in accordance with popular clamour.

Could a nation have the elements of civilisation that reduced the Jews to slavery?—(John II., and Emanuel his successor, were both instrumental in degrading and persecuting that unhappy race)—that tolerated an Inquisition with uncontrolled power, and in which, within the past century, we find women of the highest rank and refined education broken alive on the wheel, to gratify the caprice or the revenge of a government?

The Portuguese as a nation sank in their energy, and retrograded in civilisation, from the time when ignorance superseded information, superstition supplanted religion, and idleness took place of industry.† Their activity and commercial industry fell off, not only in the mother country, but in the colonies.

When the Portuguese first discovered a passage

* 1640.

† The Inquisition established in Portugal under Don Joaõ III., 1526.

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to India by the Cape of Good Hope, a very powerful effect was produced by the increase of the communication between Europe and Asia, and also by diverting to the Portuguese nation that confined trade which formerly was exclusively carried on through Egypt and the Red Sea, by the Italian republics. The Portuguese, accordingly, soon acquired settlements on the shores of the Indian Ocean, of which in time they were dispossessed by the Dutch, who, in their turn, gave way to the British.

In his "Lusiad," Camoens has recorded this maritime adventure in imperishable words.

VASCO DE GAMA DOUBLING THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

"Now prosperous gales the bending canvas swell'd;
From these rude shores our fearless course we held.
Beneath the glistening wave the God of day
Had now five times withdrawn the parting ray,
When o'er the prow a sudden darkness spread,
And, slowly floating o'er the mast's tall head,
A black cloud hover'd: nor appear'd from far
The moon's pale glimpse, nor faintly twinkling star,
So deep a gloom the lowering vapours cast;
Transfixt with awe, the bravest stood aghast.
Meanwhile a hollow, bursting roar resounds,
As when hoarse surges lash their rocky mounds.
Amaz'd we stood, — 'O Thou, our fortunes guide,
Avert this omen, mighty God!' I cried:
'Or through forbidden climes adventurous stray'd,
Have we the secrets of the deep survey'd,
Which these deep solitudes of sea and sky,
Were doom'd to hide from man's unhallow'd eye.'
I spoke, when, rising through the darken'd air,
Appall'd we saw an hideous phantom glare;
High and enormous through the flood he tower'd,
And thwart our way with sullen aspect lower'd."

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This was the Genius of the Cape, who thunders his denunciations in the ears of the adventurers. Mickle's translation hardly does justice to the passage, wherein Camoens has invested maritime enterprise with the radiance of poetry.

The discovery of this passage to the Indies was an event of the greatest importance, both to the Portuguese and to the other nations of Europe. The surprise it occasioned at the time, shows the ignorance that existed, and how little was known of geography. The Portuguese people felt proud, and justly so, of the discovery made by their countrymen.

The examples of Spain in the North American continent, of Portugal in Brazil and the Indies, forcibly confirm the truth, that unless the elements of civilisation and industry are spread through a people, the mere means of acquiring gold and silver are not sufficient to ensure national prosperity; the same result is exemplified in ancient Rome, and in the various districts of which Asia is composed, and, in fact, wherever the same state of morals is observable.

About the middle of the 16th century*, the Portuguese held extensive possessions in various parts of the world. They had settlements on the coast of Guinea, in Arabia, Persia, the Brazils, and both peninsulas of India. They moreover held forts at

* 1530.

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Ceylon, Molucca, and the island of Sunda. Whatever wealth came into Portugal from any of these countries was, as usual in that peninsula, transferred to more industrious nations; and the result was, that the wealth so procured by the Portuguese, in place of promoting the elements of civilisation, seemed to have rendered the people more idle, corrupt, and prone to bigotry. A sagacious native and narrator of the state of Portugal observes (and as he speaks of his countrymen, it is probable he is not far from the truth,) that "corruption prevailed in all the departments of the government, and the spirit of rapine amongst all ranks of men. The Portuguese settlers gave themselves up to those excesses that make usurpers hated; they wanted courage to make themselves feared. Equally detested in every quarter, they saw themselves ready to be expelled from India; their destruction was at hand." *

Another writer on Portugal remarks: —

"Spain and Portugal continued to receive annually immense sums from America. Contiguous settlements and new governments were frequently formed, and the demand for European goods was excessive; but as the decline of their manufactures obliged them to depend upon foreigners for the supply of that demand, their wealth became the common property of Europe. The industrious manufacturer of every country had his share, and

* Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. 1.

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the conquerors of the new world dwindled into the factors of England and Holland." *

The flagitious conduct of Carvalho, otherwise Pombal, as minister of Portugal, at no very late period, evinces the degradation of society in Portugal at that time †, when such cruelties as he perpetrated could be tolerated. In the expulsion of the Jesuits, although such might be a politic act, it was not even pretended that any offence had been committed by that society to justify the severities exercised against them.

The state of the country at this period may, perhaps, best appear from the account given of Pombal's cruel and illegal conduct towards some of the first persons in the kingdom.‡

At a later period §, this able but cruel minister was disgraced and sentenced to death, though not executed, and all the decrees against the unhappy nobles were reversed; but the property of the Jesuits was retained of course by the Crown.

What length of time may elapse before the requisites for improvement are sufficiently powerful

* Russell's Europe, vol. iii. p. 468.

† 1759.

‡ The shocking cruelties perpetrated on the Duke of Aveiro, the Marchioness of Tavora, and on the families of these unfortunate persons, the most distinguished in the kingdom, who were tried and condemned without evidence or proof, are too dreadful to be here repeated. The burning of Malagrida, the Jesuit, for supposed heresies and other imputed offences, did not take place till 1761.

§ 1781.

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in Portugal to establish a constitution, and to secure liberty on a firm basis, seems no easy matter to determine. In all probability public opinion may be sufficiently strong in the large and commercial towns of that country to establish, and perhaps preserve, a constitutional government; but it seems doubtful whether the population of the interior may not continue still ignorant and superstitious, and may not for some time prove too powerful for the middle and that part of the upper class who may be desirous of national amelioration. Unless the exact strength and proportion of the several classes is ascertained, considerable difficulty must exist in forming any correct opinion.

From the recent events in Portugal, as well as in Spain, the observations hazarded on the influence of civilisation and of the middle class appear in every respect to be confirmed.

It is not easy, on the report of others, to determine with any accuracy the relative proportion of the several classes of society. Information and facility of intercourse, two of the requisites for the formation of public opinion, are no doubt rapidly extending in Portugal. Newspapers, generally current; the establishment of steam-boats, now running at stated times; the improvements in the roads which are being made, all tend to show that these requisites are extending in that country.

From the events which have taken place in

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Portugal since her occupation by foreign troops, it appears that a desire for a constitutional government has been manifested by the nation. Whatever changes in the form of the Legislature have occurred, were effected with much less violence, less contention and loss of life than in Spain. This can only be accounted for by the middle class in Portugal being more extensive in proportion to the lower class, than in the adjacent country. In former times, the fidalquia was all-powerful, and kept down the others in complete subjection. The Jesuits had vast influence; the grossest ignorance prevailed; the universities had sunk into decay, and the foreign possessions of Portugal were wrested by other nations in the general ignorance and depravity of the Portuguese population. In those days, no industry in the people was efficiently applied. Some few were occupied in producing silk, which was of little importance. We are informed that the upper class at this moment in Portugal, such as we have defined it, does not extend beyond a hundred persons — the middle class must, and will, obtain the entire power: how far moral principle may be deficient in the community, and may prevent the establishment of liberal institutions, is another question. At the present time, Portugal is rather advancing in civilisation; the arts and sciences are cultivated; the University of Coimbra is much frequented by students;

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a desire for improvement is manifested in the people, and individual activity is more prevalent. *

* "The general principles of the University of Coimbra are, I regret to say, ultra-liberal, verging on, if not quite, republicanism. Harmless, in most cases, they would be, as men generally find good reason, when they enter into active life, to change their first opinions on that subject; but here, where recourse to arms is by no means unusual, they are highly dangerous. It requires no prophet to foretell that Portugal will become, or attempt to become, a republic before many years are passed. There are nine printing-offices in Oporto, whence issue daily five newspapers, and two papers for advertisements. From different offices are sent forth five monthly works, including the Medical Gazette, and the Revista Litteraria, the Literary Review, and the Lusitanian, a magazine written in English."—*Lusitanian Sketches*, by W. H. Kingston, vol. ii. p. 313.

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CHAPTER VIII.

ITALIAN REPUBLICS.

Injurious Effects of Dissensions in the Italian States. — Rise of Civilisation in the Italian Republics. — Their Wealth wrested from them by French, German, and Spanish Monarchs. — Deficiency of Moral Principle in the Italian Republics. — The Milanese Territory. — Elements of public Dignity and Independence. — Fall of the Republics. — The Medici Family. — Patriotism and Courage of the Florentines. — Alexander of Medici. — Republic of Venice. — Republic of Genoa.

Two impulses, propelling in contrary directions, appear in the course of ages to have held their influence on the population included under the name of Italy.

On one hand, the activity of the people, their quickness of apprehension, their favourable climate, and their advantageous situation for trade, had a tendency towards the advance of civilisation; and on the other, their incessant dissensions, petty wars among themselves, and the unprovoked attacks, incursions, and even conquests over them made by more powerful nations, kept them in barbarism, and checked improvement. Like our planet, acted on by a centripetal and centrifugal force, and thus preserving a sort of middle course, so have the Italian people always had a tendency to increase in civilisation,

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but been kept back by the hatred of, and consequent want of union among, each other; to which may be added, their proneness to bigotry and superstition.

Even in the days of the Roman republic, the succession of wars in which the petty states engaged, show the mutual hostility of the people inhabiting this peninsula. It might be imagined that, as ancient Rome surpassed the rest of Europe, not only in military power and consequently in wealth, but in many other respects, some inheritance of these advantages would have descended to the inhabitants of modern Italy. Let us see how far this has been the case, taking care at the same time to avoid entering into the chaos of Italian politics and court intrigues, which last, let us hope, will fast melt away before the extension of knowledge.

In Italy, as in every other country, we shall find, wherever commercial activity has created wealth and a middle class, information has risen up and liberal institutions have inevitably followed; and we shall also find the converse of the proposition, wherever the elements of civilisation have been allowed to lie dormant. To exemplify this, let us look at the republics of Venice, Florence, and Genoa, then at the states under the dominion of the Pontiff, and at the kingdom of Naples, as they existed in the last century. We deem it useless to enter into any particular account of the other states

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or communities, or to detail their intrigues, dissensions, hostilities, and ambition. A disciple of Machiavel might form no very high impression of the patriotism of their governments or of the political morality of the people. To see folly, ignorance, and bigotry, with a great portion of idleness and superstition, spreading like a mist over one of the fairest portions of Europe, cannot but cause regret to all who desire the welfare of their fellow creatures and their advance in wealth and happiness.

As is well said by an intelligent historian in his "Italy," "The history of a nation is only of importance when it conveys some moral instruction. The object ought to be, the science of establishing such a government as will unfold the faculties of men to their benefit, by industry, information, and morality. The first appearance of these qualities was in the Italian republics. After the decline and destruction of the Roman empire, which swallowed in its gulph such ancient civilisation (if so called) that was then to be found in the world, there remained nothing for many centuries to mankind, but the violence, want of restraint, and absence of law and order, arising from the sway of barbarians. There was, in fact, no organisation, no association of the natives of a particular district or nation, for the public advantage. With the conquerors, there was an inherent spirit of independence; they gloried

* History of the Rise and Fall of Liberty in the Italian republics, by Sismondi. (Paris, 1832.)

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in the fear they inspired, in being obeyed, and in slaughter and rapine. The conquered people had no protection afforded them by law, neither were any endeavours made to promote their welfare. They were to labour for their task-masters, and suffer all the privations and hardships incidental to such a state."

Such, for a length of time, was the situation of all the populations of which Europe was formerly composed.

"The equality or inequality of rank, in the several orders of society, in every nation that emerges from barbarism, arises usually from the manner in which the territorial possessions are allotted. A semi-barbarous people has no trade, no interchange of commodities; no capital, nor manufacturing industry. No other wealth, therefore, can be found but that arising from natural productions. Such a population is always subservient to that power which can either give or withhold means of subsistence and of enjoyment."

In quoting this passage, we cannot do otherwise than give our entire assent to M. Sismondi's observation. In such a state of things, how was it possible for civilisation of any description to exist?

Whilst the small Italian republics, from their situation and the activity of their citizens, were acquiring wealth, the remainder of Europe was very slowly emerging from the state just described. At the close of the fifteenth century, the sovereigns

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of the French, German, or Spanish people were tempted, for the sake of plunder, to over-run the small but wealthy Italian communities, where the sack of one single town afforded them more riches than they could wring from thousands of their subjects. These unfortunate Italian communities were for forty years sacked and plundered by the nations before mentioned. The ravages of this second set of barbarians despoiled Italy of the riches their situation and industry had amassed.*

One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from the history of the Italian republics and other States of that peninsula, is, that deficiency of moral principle occasioned the fall of those peculiar portions of Italy where an impetus had been given to the growth of civilisation by the activity of the people, or by their commercial relations.

"The virtues or the vices of Italian communities, their energy or their sloth, their information or their ignorance, depend in great measure on their social relations towards each other. Advancement in improvement, or continued ignorance, is seldom or ever wholly caused by either climate or peculiarity of national descent.†

To all mankind, in every soil, and nearly every climate, the bountiful hand of Providence has distributed advantages of a particular nature in every

* Sismondi.

† Introduction to the Italian History.

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man's reach; but even these are useless, unless secured by equality of laws and a popular respect for justice. Superstition, by destroying moral principle, deadens or destroys in the community that energy and integrity essential to the prosperity of nations.

How frequently do we remark, in the Italian communities, men placed on the summit of power solely by their artifices or their crimes; indebted neither to their own merit nor to that of their ancestors; men who could only retain their influence by the power of their slaves, and to whom, therefore, it was absolutely necessary that public opinion should be violently stifled.

The north of Italy, with a favourable climate, productive soil, and good harbours, seems not deficient in those facilities that can be desired for the interchange of commodities and the encouragement of commerce. The Milanese territory partakes in all these advantages, except a sea coast, and seems to have an intelligent and industrious population. Considerable facility of communication might certainly be formed in this part of Italy, but the people have been too supine. Thus, one of the requisites for civilisation has lain dormant. The great deficiency, however, may be traced to a lamentable and prevalent want of moral principle.

The wars, of which, almost without intermission, Italy has for centuries been the theatre, cannot but have retarded the extension of industry, which

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the natural activity and intelligence of the population, under other circumstances, might have exerted.

In proof of what has been repeatedly maintained in these pages, that industry and the acquisition of wealth assuredly lead to public dignity and independence, we may point to the commercial republics of Italy. When these states first rose into existence, they constituted but a small portion of the vast Roman empire, and by an admixture of their populations with more northern people, they acquired that energy and activity which made them so remarkable in the middle ages, and by giving them wealth, enabled these republics to become the focus whence all such civilisation as was then known seems to have emanated. We see the republican states of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and some others, each assuming to itself independence, forming codes of laws, and, by valour, wealth, and energy, performing deeds worthy of a separate history. In these small communities, as in ancient Greece, are to be seen a development of patriotism and of self-devotion, greater than can be observed elsewhere in that period. Such were the fruits of a middle class, created by industry.

These states, which gradually rose from the tenth to the twelfth century, exercised an extraordinary influence over commerce, and circulated information throughout the world. The importance of these republics in their day has scarcely been sufficiently understood. From the number and simi-

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larity of their institutions, the vast mass of intrigue, and the labyrinth of political squabbles in which they were involved, few historians have had courage to devote themselves to the subject. The history of Athens might be written with comparative ease; so might that of Switzerland, or any other independent population; but the records of the Italian republics were too multifarious to be particularly noticed, and the historians by whom they have been handed to us have not commanded much attention. It is sufficient for our purpose to show, that even commercial activity and wealth, without moral principle, will not hold a community long together: this is exemplified in these states; and we need not, therefore, dwell on their efforts to establish their independence in their contests with the despotic powers that arose around them, in their successes or their reverses, until the period when they fell, one after another, either by conquest or treachery, intrigue or corruption — when their rulers became impure, and their populations retrograded into ignorance and bigotry.

The Italian Republics were formed subsequently to the commencement of the middle ages, as they are styled, which middle ages may be said to have commenced * when the Western Empire fell, and Augustulus was made captive. In the history of these states, a great similarity is observable: in

* A.D. 476.

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their declension and fall the same scenes are constantly repeated in each, and weary attention. Acts of cruelty, of rapine, of every sort of spoliation, degrade even the mind of the reader by their constant repetition. Whilst such is the character of the governments, the people gradually sink into the lowest state of ignorance and superstition.

When Charles V. was crowned at Bologna†, and when, a short time afterwards, Florence opened her gates to that emperor, Italy lost her independence: the influence of these states over European civilisation ceased; they no longer even took a part in their internal government, and the result was most gloomy. The people gradually lost that energy and activity for which they were so remarkable, and by which their commerce was originated and their wealth created: they declined in aptitude for the sciences, and forgot the brilliant discoveries their former genius had made. Nothing was left them but that inherent taste and love of the arts, which even despotism and superstition (those destroyers of human energy and moral principle) could not wholly eradicate.

These republics, when by activity and commercial industry they arose, presented in power, intelligence, and prosperity, a striking contrast to the other portions of the peninsula. In Florence, we find the family of the Medici rising from comparative

* March 24. 1530.

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obscurity to high European importance, becoming influential in arms, art, and literature, seating one of its scions on the papal throne, and infusing its blood into the royal house of France, and consequently into that of other regal dynasties.

Cosmo de' Medici, the eldest son of John de' Medici, had acquired vast wealth by his commercial concerns, and been honoured with the highest offices in the republic, which he filled in an exemplary manner. Engaged from youth in the commerce established by his house, Cosmo greatly increased its property; and, on the death of John, succeeded to his influence as head of that powerful family, which rendered him the first citizen of Florence, without any rank or title beyond his name.

In consequence of the wars of the republic, Lorenzo de' Medici was obliged to borrow large sums of money in his own name, which, from the neglect or misconduct of his commercial agents and correspondents, he had much difficulty in repaying, and it was found necessary to liquidate these debts from the public treasury. After this occurrence, he resolved to draw his affairs into a narrower compass, and to quit his mercantile concerns. So highly did he stand in public estimation throughout Italy, that he was considered as the man to turn the political balance of the several States.*

* Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici.

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When the population of Florence * perceived all the other Italian states betrayed by their governors, overrun by foreigners, exhausted by a series of wars, or divided in themselves by political intrigues, and, abandoned by their allies, submitting without further resistance to the yoke imposed on them by the House of Austria, this republic, though left to stand by itself, determined nobly to retain its acquired liberty, or to fall a sacrifice in the attempt. At this period, the republic of Florence possessed much of the spirit, information, and whatever trifling amount of virtue was found in the middle ages; this population surpassed their neighbours not only in these qualities, but also in wealth and political importance; and although the attempt to preserve their freedom seemed hopeless, yet they determined to risk all, and to place their political existence on the result.

The Florentines, observes Sismondi, had never been a military population, and even when they successfully opposed the Duke of Milan and the King of Naples, few of their citizens had entered the ranks of the army. When, however, they saw their liberties and their hitherto free republic menaced, they took up arms themselves to repulse all by whom these benefits might be endangered. Abandoned by France, menaced by all the power and thunders of the Vatican, by Austria, by the King of Spain and Naples, they were cer-

* 1529.

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tain that they could depend on no one but themselves, their bravery, and their determination; and without neglecting the chance of conciliating the condottieri under the petty princes in their vicinity, they were persuaded that, with the chance of losing this support in the hour of danger, their only resource was to enrol themselves in their own militia, which became animated with an heroic zeal, enabling them for a long period to oppose so formidable a resistance to their invaders.

It is needless to enter further into the history of this republic, beyond observing that Alexander of Medicis was forced on the ducal throne by his troops, and the intrigues of the Pope. "Such" says the historian*, "was the cruelty, the perfidy, the debaucheries of this man, (in which he resembled Phalaris or any other monsters of antiquity,) that the citizens of Florence sent a deputation to Charles V. to remonstrate; the Emperor, astonished at the crying atrocities, cruelties, murders, and poisonings without end that he heard of Alexander, promised to enter into a consideration of his crimes on his return from the expedition to Tunis; and in consequence, when resting at Naples on his return, the Florentines sent Cardinal Hippolyte de' Medicis, to state all particulars, but the Grand Duke took the occasion of the cardinal's arrival at Itri on his way from Rome

* Bened. Vorchi, t. v. lib. xiv.

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to Naples, and had him poisoned by one of his servants*: Dante de Castiglione and B. Barlinghieri, who accompanied him on the same errand, died the next day, from the same cause, but the Grand Duke failed in assassinating Philippo Strozzi, as he had often attempted, and the schemes for destroying his other enemies were also discovered and frustrated.† This short account of the loss of liberty in the Florentines is given, merely to show the shocking state of depravity, and total deficiency in the requisites for civilisation, then prevalent among those who ruled the destinies of the Italian States.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, the disorders at Florence and in the other Italian republics, and the cruelties, murders, and other horrors committed by one faction, when victorious over the other, are enough to disgust the most unfeeling mind.‡

"Vain the lament, that vainer for thee mourns!
Thou hast but trod Fate's circle, mark'd for all:
Indignant Freedom first on slavery turns;
Fame follows, luxury, decline, and fall,
And grey Oblivion muffles with her pall:
Thy beauty, still a crown of thorns to thee,
Shall halo with a deathless coronal
Thy brow: Humanity, arous'd, shall be
The late avenger of thy dream-like liberty.

* August 10. 1535.

† Ben. Vorchi, lib. xiv. p. 130.

‡ Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. i. p. 189, et infra. See other writers on the subject.

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"Enter yon street of palaces and towers:
Here Circe calls the wanderer to stay;
While pleasure laughs away the flying hours;
Florence! thy ducal race have pass'd away:
But they have left behind them that bright ray
Of immortality, which gilds the name
Of those scarce less than tyrants in their day:
Yes, still thy Medicis our homage claim:
To Art they rear'd the shrine, and gave themselves to fame." *

The republic of Venice was once so powerful as to wage war against the Turks from 1641 to 1669. The siege of Candia, the longest on record, continued for twenty years, either by blockade or actual attack, until the island fell under the Turkish forces.

A French writer exclaims, "With what dilatoriness and what difficulty does civilisation advance and society improve! Venice, in the seventeenth century, was the city of arts, and of whatever information existed in Europe. Yet at its very gates you found Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, regions where barbarism and ignorance were in full vigour." †

"On ne pouvait pas ramener aux bonnes mœurs toute une population élévée dans la plus honteuse licence, depuis la licence est toujours allée en croissant." ‡

* Italy, by John Edmund Reade, Canto I.

† Voltaire, Essais sur les Mœurs, vol. iv. p. 278.

‡ Mayer, Déscrip. de Vénise. See also "Correspondance de Schlick, envoyé à Vénise;" also Daru, Hist. de Vénise, vol. v. p. 68.

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"So scandalously debauched a people as that of Venice, is to be met with no where else. High and low, men, women, clergy and laity, are all alike. The people are considered as the farmer does the hog he keeps; he holds him fast in his stye, but allows him to wallow as much as he pleases in his beloved filth and gluttony. Moreover, the people are kept in a perpetual terror by the horrors of a state inquisition."*

Genoa, in former days, was conspicuous amongst the maritime republics of the Mediterranean, obtained wealth by commerce, and became civilised in a great degree, when compared with other states of Europe. The wealth and power of this republic may be conjectured from the naval force it could send to sea; from the powerful exertions made in the wars then carried on against the Ottomans; from the splendid edifices by which the city and its neighbourhood are adorned; but still more by the liberal form of government that this community enjoyed at a time when the greatest part of Europe was in ignorance, and enslaved under the feudal system.

At that time Genoa appears to have possessed a middle class of society to a certain extent, an aristocratical form of government, free from pure despotism, and other advantages of civilisation,

* Burke's View of Society, vol. i.

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which it was impossible she could have obtained had not her population, owing to its commercial energy, enjoyed almost a monopoly of the trade and manufactures that were to be found on the shores of the Mediterranean in those rude ages.

This republic was considered so influential in maritime affairs that it was regarded as the bulwark of Europe against the then increasing power of the Turks. Genoa, and the other small Italian states, similarly situated, as well as the free towns in the northern parts of Europe, would, without more evidence, be sufficient to confirm our position, that wherever wealth, information, and a middle class exist, civilisation and liberal institutions follow as a natural consequence, though public virtue is indispensable to render them permanent.

Each of the above-mentioned republics was favourably situated for trade with the Levant, and all other parts of the Mediterranean Sea. Before the passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered; before navigation was brought to any degree of perfection in Europe, the republics of Genoa and Venice appear to have afforded the principal means for interchange of commodities; whatever trifling trade was to be found between Europe and India, must necessarily pass through their intervention; hence in those states the rise of a middle class, the accumulation of wealth, and their natural and inevitable result, the desire of free institutions and of internal self-government.

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In Venice the first paper for conveying periodical information was published.*

If we look at the buildings, either at Genoa or Venice, and estimate the wealth evidently laid out by private individuals and public bodies, the results arising from commerce, even in those early days of civilisation, are apparent. Although much of the trade that then existed has been transferred elsewhere, from superior activity, skill, or capital, yet a certain amount of trade must always continue wherever a population is active, more particularly when, as in the instance of these communities, the very favourable situation on the Mediterranean is taken into account. Besides this, they may anticipate an increase of commercial intercourse with those countries on the opposite shores, should civilisation extend its influence over the African continent in the lapse of centuries yet to come.

The means of diffusing information were not formerly what they are at present in England, and, consequently, the improvement of the middle class in those small republics, and also of the first part of the lower class, must have been much slower. In towns like Venice or Genoa, where the popuation and the entire state was included within a district of a few miles in circumference, it was, perhaps, not difficult to afford facility of commu-

* The first periodical paper, or newspaper, was published at Venice, and sold for the smallest piece of current coin then known, called gazetta; hence the word gazette.

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nication, which tended to spread the requisites for public opinion. Thus, whilst some of the towns on the sea coast obtained wealth by commerce, a sort of freedom, and middle class; the people at no great distance in the interior were in a state little removed from barbarism. This remark applies not only to Venice and Genoa, but to the Hanse Towns at the latter end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.

According to a well-known writer, the chances of a monarchical form of government, or of an aristocracy or democracy, are as follow: —

"Such states as are comprehended in one great city are more fit for an aristocratical or democratical form of government; whereas a monarchy is fittest to be erected in nations where the subjects are dispersed over a considerable tract or extent of land. The true reason is this, that mankind in general, politically considered, is like a wild, unruly creature, ready upon all occasions to shake off the bridle of civil obedience, as often as matters do not suit with its humours. Whence it may rationally be concluded why a king, who commands only over one great populous city, is immediately in danger of losing all, as soon as his subjects are disgusted at him. But when the subjects of a prince live at a distance from each other, it is easy for him to keep so many of them inclined to his side, as are sufficient to repress the mutinous party." *

* Puffendorff, Hist. of Europe.

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With all due respect for the learned author of the Law of Nations, his reasons are not of much weight. The case seems to be, that in large towns a middle class usually springs up; in the country a large lower class only is found. When the former is the case, a more liberal form of government is established; if the latter, the supreme authority of one individual usually continues.

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CHAPTER IX.

PAPAL STATES. — NAPLES AND SARDINIA.

The Roman Population. — Civilisation in the Papal States. — Church Property. — Neglect of Trade and Commerce. — Origin of the Inquisition. — Monstrous Crimes of Count Cenci encouraged by Clement VIII. as Sources of Revenue to the Vatican. — Naples. — Masaniello's Insurrection. — Piedmont. — Massacre of the Protestants. — Cromwell's Remonstrance to the Duke of Savoy. — Formation of a Union of the Italian States desirable.

The population in the Roman States does not possess such facility of communication as other parts of Italy: they are consequently deprived of that spirit of enterprise and commerce remarkable in the republics. They are, however, much addicted to the cultivation of the arts; and the prestige of their name and of their ancient celebrity seems to them sufficient without further exertion. The wealth poured into Rome when the Pontiff had more influence over the Christian world than he has at present, produced the same negative effect on the population as the wealth of the Indies, when poured into Spain, had on the Spaniards. The industry of neither community was increased; the people remained idle and quiescent; the requisites for civilisation lay dormant; bigotry

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superseded moral principle; and the exertions of a highly gifted and intelligent people remained inactive for centuries, with the single exception of expenditure on public edifices and on private dwellings that occasionally took place.

The papal states are not so far advanced in the elements of civilisation as those of the north of Italy, where commerce has led to information and wealth. In the former, great part of the landed property belongs to the Church, in fact, to the Government, which, with the ecclesiastics and the lower class, form the community. The great body of persons under the papal government attached to the Church, and supported by its revenues, can scarcely be considered as appertaining either to the upper or middle class. They form a distinct order, having little or no fixed property. No attempts are made by their individual exertions to improve their condition, as in the middle ranks in other countries. All bodies of men who are not classed from their own property, but who enjoy salaries for life, acquire commonly a sort of corporation-spirit, a sentiment of exclusiveness, at variance with public opinion.

The papal government does not encourage facility of communication; and although the Roman population are active, intelligent, and desirous of improving their condition, yet the want of trade, or of any sort of manufacture, prevents their augmenting the wealth of the community, except by the

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attention they pay to the fine arts, in which, from their natural genius, the peculiarity of their situation, and the classic ground on which they tread, they are proficient. Some time may perhaps pass away bef ·re a middle class sufficiently imbued with the elements of civilisation may be found among them; but it cannot be doubted that this much-to-be-desired consummation will take place, accelerated by the facility of communication now becoming so prevalent, and which no human power can check.

The Inquisition appears to have originated in a desire to check those who should attempt to separate themselves from the Church of Rome; to punish Jews and Moors who might remain in Europe; to extirpate heresy; but more particularly to enable despotic governments to seize on and confiscate the property or wealth of the richest and best-informed men, not likely to favour superstition; those who, in the present day, would give tone and power to public opinion. By the agency of superstition encouraged in the people, the rise of civilisation and of public opinion was effectually prevented. In what a state could a community be, within the last three centuries, not merely to tolerate, but to sanction and approve, such a mode of proceeding!

In his Ecclesiastical History, Fleury gives the following account:—"The consequence of the war against the Albigenses and Waldenses, was the establishment of the Inquisition; the first founda-

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tion of which was laid by Innocent III., under the direction of Domenico, on whom the title of Saint was bestowed. The Pope, perceiving that an open warfare carried on against heretics was not capable of destroying the vast numbers that still remained, determined on establishing a more permanent and effectual measure, and formed a tribunal whose sole object was to search for and punish heretics. This tribunal was styled the Inquisition; and St. Domenico was the first inquisitor. The Inquisition consisted of twelve cardinals and some other inferior officers. The above cardinals assumed the title of Inquisitors-general throughout the Christian world: but they have no jurisdiction in France, nor in some other Catholic countries.*

We may here remark, that, when the Inquisition was established in Venice, precisely the same results took place as in Spain and Portugal; the seeds of civilisation, sown by industry and commercial activity, became choked gradually, and were supplanted by ignorance and bigotry. "The exertions of Innocent X. were fruitless in endeavouring to introduce the Inquisition into the Venetian states. Milan and Parma were nearly ruined by the seditions excited on these occasions, and nothing was heard throughout Italy but bitter complaints against the institution. The Venetian states accordingly urged these disorders and troubles as proper reasons for rejecting the introduction of

* Fleury's Ecclesiast. Hist., vol. ii.

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that tribunal: however, Pope Nicolo IV. at last succeeded in carrying to a certain extent the favourite project of his predecessor. The Venetians were now fully aware that, unless they themselves established an Inquisition, they should be reduced to the necessity of submitting to one dependent on Rome. The senate therefore resolved to admit the Inquisition.*

Don Pedro, Viceroy of Naples, attempted to establish the Inquisition in that kingdom; but without success at the time.

The court of Rome having thus introduced this tribunal into most parts of Italy, endeavoured to do the same in Germany, but without success. The Emperor Charles V., finding that great numbers of heretics had made the Low Countries their asylum, published an edict †, whereby the Inquisition was ordered to be established under similar laws and regulations as that of Spain; but the edict was never carried into execution. Another attempt was made by Philip II., son of Charles V., which was resisted by the people, and the result was a long and bloody war, terminating in the separation of the Low Countries from the Spanish monarchy. The Low Countries at length established their freedom, and formed themselves into a republic, by the style of the United Provinces.

A fearful evidence, among others, of the corruption by which the papal states were formerly charac-

* A.D. 1544. † A.D. 1550.

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terised, may be found in the horrible story of Count Cenci (in 1599), whose monstrous crimes were encouraged by Clement VIII., as sources of revenue to the Vatican. Cenci was probably a maniac; but he persevered in his execrable career, because the Pope allowed him to purchase, by his gold and lands, immunity for murder and other villanies. Here, then, we see a nobleman of vast possessions permitted by the head of the Romish church to perpetrate enormities *at a certain scale of payment.* In what a state must civilisation then have been! Had public opinion been formed, neither the offender, nor the government which tolerated him, could have dared to stand at its bar. A recent poet has made this hideous truth the subject of a drama, which rather mitigates than enhances its horror. The opening scene between Cenci and the Cardinal Camillo, is warranted by documents still extant in public archives. The Cardinal, with perfect verisimilitude, thus speaks: —

"That matter of the murder is hush'd up,
If you consent to yield his Holiness
Your fief that lies beyond the Pincian gate.
It needed all my interest in the conclave
To bend him to this point.

Cenci. — "The third of my possessions! Let it go!
Ay, I once heard the nephew of the Pope
Had sent his architect to view the ground,
Meaning to build a villa on my vines
The next time I compounded with his uncle:
I little thought he should outwit me so!"

SHELLEY.

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The insurrection at Naples about two centuries since, headed by Masaniello, is well known. Previously to the formation of public opinion, these popular tumults were common in every part of Europe: Jack Cade and Wat Tyler in England, the revolution in Portugal and elsewhere, bear full testimony to this fact. We find at this period Naples held in thrall by a foreign domination, the population subjected to grievous burdens, and oppressive laws. We see great part of the lower class acting under popular clamour, rising simultaneously, succeeding in the outset, then committing gross outrages on property, violating the law, and at length abandoning their leader to the tender mercies of the constituted authorities. Such was the case in Naples. No doubt great exactions, scarcely to be borne, exasperated the population; the weak government, established under the authority of Spain, was scarcely able to quell the tumult; but this insurrection, like that in Portugal, was much assisted by the strong feelings of the people against the domination of a foreign power. The outbreak by Masaniello in Naples, although not successful, was the precursor of the abolition of the Spanish yoke. The conspiracy in Portugal that drove out the viceroy of Spain, was probably fostered by the same sentiments. In both countries scarcely any middle class was to be found. Patriotism had no other vent than popular clamour. Neither in Naples nor in Portugal were the elements of civili-

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sation sufficiently spread through the people to enable them to entertain public opinion. No mere ebullition of popular clamour ever did, or ever can, permanently shake off the trammels of despotic power: it may put aside the individual who at the time exercised it, but the thing remains.

Piedmont is now amalgamated with Sardinia and some of the islands of the Mediterranean approximating the shores of Italy. The Piedmontese are an industrious people. In fact, in all the Italian communities we find a strong exciting influence, tending to promote activity and the formation of property, like a spring endeavouring to expand, but pressed down and kept under by ignorance and fanaticism. We perceive the baneful effect of bigotry spreading through the land like a pestilence, and corrupting and destroying the seeds and sprouts of civilisation. The moment that intolerance and injustice appeared, the social relations of the community sank; the people lost their energy with their information, and became degraded. Like the Romans of old, they delighted in scenes of blood and destruction; with this difference, that the judicial murders in the *auto-da-fés* surpassed in cruelty the gladiatorial exhibitions in Rome.

To demonstrate the abject condition of the people in Piedmont, it is only necessary to advert to the massacre of the Protestants in 1655, when "the Duke of Savoy determined to compel his reformed subjects to embrace popery, or quit their country.

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All who remained, and refused to be converted, suffered a most barbarous massacre. Those who escaped fled into the mountains, whence they sent agents into England, to Cromwell, for relief. He instantly commanded a general fast, and promoted a national contribution, in which nearly forty thousand pounds were collected. The Duke, dreading Cromwell's resentment, suspended the persecution, and recalled his army." Milton, at this time Oliver's secretary, wrote several state letters, *ex officio*, on this subject, one of which was to the Duke himself. So affecting a theme naturally excited his poetical enthusiasm, no less than his energy as a writer of state papers. Hence his noble Sonnet, intitled,—

"ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEMONT.

"Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd o'er the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred-fold, who, having learn'd thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

It would be useless to overwhelm the reader by a recapitulation of all the cruelties and horrors

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perpetrated on various occasions in those days, by which the energy of the Italian people was checked, and their active, ardent, and quick apprehensions made entirely torpid and inactive. It appears, also, that all persons of property were liable to be destroyed merely on account of their wealth.

"I arrived here [Majorca], on the 3d inst.," says a traveller at the end of the seventeenth century, "and could get but very ill accommodation by reason of the concourse of people that are here at this time to assist at the *auto-da-fé*, which began last week: for Tuesday last there were burnt here twenty-seven Jews and heretics, and to-morrow I shall see executed above twenty more; and Tuesday next, if I stay here so long, is to be another *fiesta*, for so they intitle a day dedicated to so execrable an act. The greatest part of the criminals that are already, and will be, put to death, were the *richest men of the island*, and owners of the best houses in the city."*

The contests of the rival factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, and the perpetual intestine wars that cursed the Italian states in the middle ages, and at a later period, were not dissimilar to the contests between the white and red roses in England, or other civil wars in France and Spain. Dissensions like these appear to have occurred nearly in every nation deficient in the requisites for civilisation, in which no public opinion, or no middle class, could be found;

* Letters from James Stanhope to his father, dated Palma, May 5. 1691.

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and where powerful and extensive possessors of land, influencing an ignorant or fanatical lower class, or chiefs of factious tribes without information or principle, or any motive but restlessness and love of plunder, engrossed all the property, power, and influence over the people, and directed their energies to rob and destroy each other.

As often remarked, this was a fate common to all Europe on emerging from barbarism. Perhaps as strong a proof as any that can be adduced of the increase of the middle class and of public opinion in Europe, is, the entire change that has taken place in this respect. No such factions, excited by turbulent barons, are to be found on the Continent. Even in the most uncivilised parts, the lower class has improved, and some middle class made its appearance.

Whenever public opinion becomes powerful in Italy, and sufficient patriotism and virtue are found in the people, it seems likely that some sort of federal government may be established for the North and for the South, by which they may be emancipated from a foreign yoke, and secure to each other the blessings of freedom, and of whatever institutions, in each separate state, the inclination of public opinion and the interests of the community will deem most advantageous.

The irruption of the northern barbarians, and their conquests in Italy, do not appear to have produced the same effect in forming the feudal system

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as in France and Germany, or like the result of the Norman conquest in England. Although Italy was certainly not at any time in a state of civilisation according to our definition of the word, we find many of the states less barbarous, more wealthy, and addicted to the arts, consequently with a greater population for their extent than in those nations where feudalism prevailed. The great holders of land, or possessors of property, instead of remaining in their castles, surrounded by tenants and vassals, came into the towns, and added their wealth to the common stock. This vast increase to the power and wealth of the towns enabled them, at an early period (when in England and France the whole country was under feudal tenure), to assume the right of self-government, to form themselves into republics, wage wars with each other or with neighbouring states, and become independent. By these means they were enabled to extend their trade with the Levant, and to augment their wealth and importance. Thus it appears, that about the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, some enterprise, commercial industry, and riches were evident in all the petty states of Italy, and in these qualities they were beyond comparison superior to any districts in England, or France, or Germany. Still these flourishing republics of Italy were not at that period in a perfect state of civilisation; moral principle was wanting, liberty was precarious, and life was insecure. Let any one wade into what Robert-

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son the historian calls the "chaos of politics" of the Italian states—into the transactions of the republics of Genoa, Florence, Venice, &c., and it will appear that a mass of intrigue and corruption was prevalent; that self-interest, not the public good, was consulted; and that, wanting the main ingredient of civilisation, their institutions retrograded instead of advancing, and in the 15th century the people were worse governed than they were two centuries before.

In addition to this, internal dissensions rendered them an easy prey to their powerful and warlike neighbours.

On the other hand, says the historian*, Pisa, which had risen by her commerce, which had covered the Mediterranean with her fleets, and was the first to introduce the arts and productions of the East, by her constant intercourse with Constantinople, Syria, and Africa, found herself hampered by the jealousy of her masters the Florentines. Strong prohibitions were enacted against the inhabitants of Pisa, preventing them from manufacturing either silk or woollen stuffs, and thus by degrees was the population reduced to such a state of misery and degradation that Pisa became a disgrace to her masters.

There is no necessity to enter into any particulars in regard to the governments that rule over

* Uberti Hist., lib. xii. p. 667. Fra. Guicciardini, 1st, lib. ii. p. 74.

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various parts of Italy. In the course of these observations every endeavour has been made to avoid either political topics, or any reference to what may be the different denominations of Christians. Our object is to consider the civilisation of mankind, and anxiously to avoid whatever may have a tendency to border on political or religious differences in any government or community at present in existence. An examination of the several states of Italy, as they flourished in the middle ages, or as they are found at present, produces the same conviction in each case. Their rise into opulence; their subsequent fall; their politics; their degradation, and, let us hope, their gradual improvement at this day in the elements of civilisation, bear out so completely our theory, that to dwell further on them would not advance our investigation, but would load the attention of the reader with facts, which, though of great moment and interest in bygone days, are of none whatever at present.

The leading mischief in the prosperity of the Italian states, has not arisen from a want of energy or activity, but from a deficiency in moral principle, which has induced a wretched state of ignorance and superstition, whence we believe they are now emerging.

The only chance left of defending themselves from foreign aggression, would have been a federal government, forming some supreme power, that might have declared war or peace, and brought

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all the energies of the republics to bear at once, either for attack or defence, on the common enemy. From this circumstance some Italian politicians of note have lamented the precarious state of civilisation in Italy, and have expressed their regret that the feudal system had not run through the land, and been overcome, as it generally is, by monarchy, so as to have united the Italian states under one head, as in England, France, and Spain.

The union of small communities under one government, so essential to facility of intercourse, and so necessary to subdue the petty passions and local prejudices existing formerly, not only between people differing in language and customs, but even between various portions of the same people, and occasionally even between county and county, or parish and parish, did not exist in Italy, and has much tended to check improvement, increase of information, and wealth in that portion of Europe. Whatever amount of civilisation or public opinion exists in a people ought to be equally spread among them: public opinion should flow in one great and majestic stream.

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CHAPTER X.

SWITZERLAND.

Historical Fallacy. — Causes of the early Formation of Liberal Government in Switzerland. — Feudal Division of Land unknown by the Swiss. — Poverty of the Country. — Subdivision of landed Property. — Parsimony of the People. — Middle Class. — Usual Gradations in the Advance of Civilisation not observable in Switzerland.

THE liberty enjoyed by the Swiss is attributed by most historians to their love of independence; a supposition that one set of people are born with a greater desire of being free and happy than another, or that one nation is more, and another less desirous to obtain security of person and property. A manifest fallacy! The desire to possess these advantages is common to mankind, and will be found wherever a sufficient extent of information exists; but it is not the mere wish of a few individuals in any community that obtains freedom and security; it is, as we have often insisted, the extension of the requisites for civilisation and spread of public opinion, that enable nations to obtain their desire.

The cantons of Switzerland have enjoyed a degree of freedom, and a liberal system of government, formerly little known to their neighbours. Whence

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did it occur that the necessary requisites were to a certain extent in existence amongst them, and a middle class of society formed? By what means were these people enabled at an early period to establish in each canton a government supported by public opinion, and a confederacy for the security of the whole?—in fact, to lay the foundation of their civil liberty and their independence of foreign states? They could not form a middle class from either commerce or manufactures, on account of their local situation. They were secluded from their neighbours, and the poverty of their soil afforded few if any articles of raw produce that could be exchanged with other nations. How did they secure the freedom they enjoyed?

The country of which the Swiss cantons are composed, is less fertile and rich than that of neighbouring nations. This deficiency in the soil, the local means of defence, and the hardihood and courage of the people, often deterred the leaders of more powerful countries from attempts at conquest. Although Switzerland was, in former days, subdued and occupied, her territory, unlike that of most states in Europe, was not separated into feudal divisions, where the sole proprietors of the land were the barons, the crown, and the church. The poverty of the country, its difficulty of access, and the mountain valour of its people, preserved them from predatory incursions, and the Swiss, as a nation, kept apart from the incessant wars that desolated

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Europe for so many centuries. In consequence of these advantages (if *they* may be so called, which arise from geographical *disadvantages*), the landed property in Switzerland was more subdivided than it was commonly found to be in those states of Europe which had been gained by conquest, and in which feudal tenures were in full force. The result was, that a middle class (though one of very moderate means) existed in Switzerland, whilst in other countries, the barons (with the crown and the church) were in possession of the soil.

The Swiss, free from fear of invasion, were allowed to exert their industry; and not having any commercial or manufacturing pursuits at home, entered into the service of foreign states, in peace or war: after a lapse of years they returned, and augmented the wealth of their country by the amount of their wages and the savings they had made. By these means the middle class, already in existence, was extended. The natural industry and parsimony of the people did not allow them to diminish the capital thus obtained, nor did their prudence permit them to increase their population to a greater extent than could be supported by the soil.

On referring to the history of the cantons at an early period after they obtained their independence, some of the requisites for civilisation are perceptible,—and the natural consequences, a middle class, poor, yet independent, followed the esta-

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blishment of personal liberty, and of a liberal form of government.

In all these several cantons security of person and property is established by law. As the upper or middle classes are greater in proportion to each other, so does the internal legislature of each canton assimilate more to an aristocracy or democracy. In one or two, the government is in the hands of the upper class; in others, where the middle class has a preponderance in property and in numbers, the chief power of the state is vested in a popular assembly.

The state of the Swiss cantons is alluded to as it was before the occupation of the country by the French troops, in the early part of this century. Some few alterations have taken place since that period, which do not however affect the general argument.* One canton has become independent of another, and various modifications or changes have taken place in their local administration. These alterations, though locally important, do not in any manner affect the position laid down or the deductions made.

Had Switzerland been a rich and fertile country, easily accessible, there can exist but little doubt that the feudal system would have been established over its population in the first instance,

* The Pays de Vaud was made independent of Berne, and now governs itself, and some other changes of minor importance have taken place.

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then an absolute monarchy, and all the gradations of the advance of civilisation that took place in the several nations of Europe. Fortunately for Switzerland, it has not been necessary that she should go through this ordeal.

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CHAPTER XI.

HOLLAND.

Struggles by Holland against Spain. — Dutch Patience and Perseverance. — Marvell's Ridicule, a Panegyric in Disguise. — Trading Activity of the Dutch. — Their Prosperity. — Unprovoked Attack on them by Louis XIV. — Progress of the United Provinces. — Their Trade and Religion. — Anecdote. — Establishment of a limited Hereditary Monarchy.

If we look at the state of Holland when under the dominion of Spain, survey what it subsequently became, and regard its situation at present, it will again be manifest that the industry and consequent wealth of a people produce power and influence abroad, and civilisation and freedom at home. When the dominion of Spain was thrown off, the nations in the vicinity of Holland were desirous of supporting her in her exertions for freedom, having compassion on a brave people occupying a tract of land almost wrested, by their labour, from the ocean, and who, by their courage and perseverance, had not only obtained, but successfully endeavoured to preserve, their freedom from a foreign yoke.

The following humourous verses, by Andrew Marvell, ridicule the situation of the Hollanders formerly, and burlesque the labours they had to undergo in

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redeeming themselves from the ocean. They are not given *here* as a satire on the Dutch, whatever might have been intended by the writer: on the contrary, they show the difficulties that were undergone by that patient nation, and prove what may be effected by industry and perseverance, by any people, in any soil or climate. Marvell, though perhaps he knew it not, was writing a panegyric in disguise.

CHARACTER OF HOLLAND.

"Holland, that scarce deserves the name of land,
As but the off-scouring of the British sand;
And so much earth as was contributed
By English pilots when they heav'd the lead;
Or what by th' ocean's slow alluvion fell
Of ship-wreck'd cockle and the muscle-shell;
This indigested vomit of the sea,
Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.

Glad then as miners who have found the ore,
They, with mad labour, fish'd the land to shore;
And div'd as desperately for each piece
Of earth, as if 't had been of ambergreece;
Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
Less than what building swallows bear away;
Or than those pills which sordid beetles rowl,
Transfusing into them their dung-hill soul.

How did they rivet, with gigantic piles,
Thorough the centre, their new catched miles;
And to the stake a struggling country bound,
Where barking waves still bait the forced ground;
Building their wat'ry Babel far more high
To reach the sea, than those to scale the sky.

Yet still his claim the injured ocean lay'd,
And oft at leap-frog o'er their steeples play'd;

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As if on purpose it on land had come
To show them what's their *mare liberum*.
The fish oft-times the burgher dispossess'd,
And sat, not as a meat, but as a guest.
* * * * * *

For, as with pigmies, who best kills the crane,
Among the hungry, he that treasures grain,
Among the blind, the one-eyed blinkard reigns,
So ranks among the drowned he that *drains*.
Not who first see the rising sun commands,
But who could first discern the rising lands.
To make a bank, was a great plot of state;
Invent a shovel, and be a magistrate."

After surmounting all their difficulties in creating both their soil and their liberty, we perceive, in an incredibly short space of time, the Dutch, favoured by their maritime situation, by the fair laws and equitable administration of their magistrates, their industry, commercial and trading activity, all united, collecting nearly the entire trade of the world under their influence. Whilst their neighbours were engaged in domestic broils or foreign wars, the Hollanders made acquisitions of territory in India, colonies in various parts, and obtained an extent of trade and wealth that placed them from their former humble situation on a footing with the great nations of Europe, enabled them to make war with the highest powers, and, as Sir W. Temple says, to keep afloat a very powerful fleet, and an army of seventy thousand men.

Such are the results that have always followed in the wake of civilisation. From these advan-

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tages possessed by the Dutch, not from conquest or tyranny, but from activity, equal rights, and equal laws, all the nations of Europe receive an example of what can be acquired by a community, independent of soil or climate, and deprived of many other natural advantages.

The situation of the United Provinces at the close of the seventeenth century was very prosperous. The condition of their government confirms very forcibly the theory we have attempted to demonstrate, that in most countries where civilisation has made some progress, the form of the government depends in a great measure on the relative proportion of the several classes of society to each other. It appears also, that the United Provinces, at the period mentioned, were without any rivals in the commerce of Europe; but it followed that, when other nations of greater population and superior means directed their industry and their energies in a similar manner, it was not in the power of the natives of Holland to retain a monopoly of commerce, or continue to be carriers of Europe. From their situation, and their vicinity to several powerful nations who entertained a jealousy of their greatness and a desire to obtain some part of their wealth, the United Provinces must necessarily have been checked in the extension of their commerce, though their industry may preserve their wealth, and extend the means of civilisation.

The unprincipled and unprovoked invasion of

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Holland by Louis XIV., occasioned much damage to that country, both in checking its industry, and in draining its coffers; but probably the competition of other maritime nations, the English and French particularly, did more, in supplanting their carrying trade, than the King of France had effected by his invasion of their territory.

Let us for a moment take a bird's-eye view of the United Provinces, when they rose as it were out of the sea, became independent, gave laws to their neighbours, and, though at first only a handful of men, grew, in an incredibly short period, to be, for a time, the first commercial power in the known world.

One of our countrymen, well acquainted with Holland upwards of a century from this time, says, "How remarkable are the United Provinces, from the great number of populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of every spot of ground in the country! No other country in the known world, of the same extent, holds any proportion with this in numbers of people. No country can be found in the present age, or upon record, where so vast a trade has been managed; nay, it is generally esteemed that more shipping belongs to them than there does to all the rest of Europe. Nor has Holland grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of industry; by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growth; by being the general magazine of Europe, and

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furnishing all ports with whatever the market wants or invites; and by their seamen being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world. In this commonwealth, no man having reason to complain of oppression in conscience, and no man having hopes, by advancing his religion, to form a party, differences in opinion make none in affections, and little in conversation. Men live together like citizens of the world, associated by the common ties of humanity, and by bonds of peace, under the impartial protection of the laws, with equal encouragement of all art and industry, and equal freedom of speculation and inquiry; all men enjoying their imaginary excellences and acquisitions of knowledge with as much safety as their real possessions and improvements of fortune. The power of religion among the Hollanders lies in every man's heart. Religion may possibly do more good in other places, but it does less harm here. I am sure the visible effects are so in this country, by the continual and undisturbed civil peace of their government for so long a course of years, and by so mighty an increase of their people, wherein will appear to consist chiefly the vast growth of their trade and riches, and consequently the strength and greatness of their state."*

This extract from the works of an able man at the time that the United Provinces were most flourishing is here given, as affording, in few words,

* Sir Wm. Temple's Observation on the United Provinces.

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as good an insight into the social relations of the Dutch as could be obtained. In every respect it confirms our theory in reference to the elements of civilisation. We see a community not favoured either by soil or climate—probably less so than most nations of Europe—by their courage and energy throwing off the yoke of a great power, turning their land redeemed from the sea into luxuriant fields, their morasses into towns, extending their influence and power to all parts of the known world, and by the same agency augmenting their individual wealth, and the middle class in their community.*

It would be superfluous to enter into a detailed account of the invasion of Holland by French forces,

* Before we take leave of Sir William Temple's work, we cannot but repeat in his own words, when speaking of the United Provinces, his account of meeting with *the only rich man he ever had the good fortune to behold.* "And here (in an hospital), I met with the only rich man I ever saw in my life. One of those old seamen entertaining me a good while with the plain stories of his fifty years' voyages and adventures, while I was viewing their hospital and the church adjoining, I gave him at parting a piece of their coin about the value of a crown: he took it smiling, and offered it to me again; but when I refused it he asked me, what he should do with the money? for all that ever they wanted was provided for them at their house. I left him to overcome his modesty as he could; but a servant coming after me, saw him give it to a little girl that opened the church door, as she passed by him. Which made me reflect upon the fantastic calculation of riches and poverty that is current in the world, by which a man that wants a million, is a prince; he that wants but a groat, is a beggar; and this was a man that wanted nothing at all."

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of the constant enmity of the Bishop of Munster, of the impolitic and most unjust coalition entered into against the United Provinces by Charles II., as much against the interest of England as it was contrary to the slight amount of public opinion then existing in our island. These details belong more to the history of Holland than to one of civilisation. It has been shown how the United Provinces acquired their wealth and power; the result on their social relations, and on the prosperity of their commonwealth, has also been demonstrated. The destruction of the De Witts by the Hollanders in a moment of phrensy, and during the prevalence of popular clamour; their divisions, cabals, and intrigues; and their subsequent fall under the arms of republican France, tend to confirm our belief, that even in a perfectly free community, with wealth, information, and a well-informed middle class, the surest method of avoiding intestine commotions, of frustrating the intrigues of ambitious or the schemes of flagitious men, of consolidating the best interests of the people, securing their liberty at home, and making them respected abroad, is the establishment of a limited hereditary monarchy, founded on constitutional principles, which, let us hope, Holland enjoys at present, and may long preserve.

The industry and wealth of Flanders early nourished a free spirit, and the utmost efforts were long made by the inhabitants of its cities for the maintenance of their liberties. But in those days

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the principle of granting rights and equal laws and immunities to all, was not known. The burghers in the towns were so fond of freedom, that they kept it to themselves. The peasantry of the neighbouring country shared not in the rights of man.

The natural result was, that finding themselves oppressed, the country population eagerly joined the feudal leaders in opposing the rising influence of the manufacturing classes; and the jealousy of rival industry often, and too commonly, prevented the latter from uniting in any common measure for the defence of their independence.* Once only an unhoped-for victory roused the whole country to arms, and their freedom might have been established on a firm basis; but the burghers of Ghent had not the firmness of the shepherds of Unterwalden, and the victory of Resebecque crushed for centuries the rising independence of commercial industry under the barbarous yoke of feudal power.† In fact, moral principle, that element of civilisation, was in some measure deficient. It cannot, however, be denied, that great activity, commercial industry, and their national concomitants, wealth and luxury, were more enjoyed by the Hanse Towns, Holland, and Flanders, than in other parts of the North of Europe.

* See Alison, vol. i.

† Barante, vol. i. pp. 42, 43.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE HANSE TOWNS.

Rise of the Hanse Towns. — Origin of the Name. — Privileges and Immunities of the Hanse Towns. — Their Number. — Power of the Confederacy. — Commercial Facilities. — Extensive Trade. — Period when the Commerce of the Hanse Towns was at its height. — Their Decline. — Influence of Civilisation over Forms of Government. — Injustice of the Hanse Towns towards their Dependents. — Consequences of this.

THE above free communities afford so powerful an illustration of our theory, that they cannot be omitted in noticing those republics which, in former days, rose by their commercial activity and consequent wealth, and afforded, like a cultivated garden in a desert, a resting-place for the eye amid the feudal barbarism that covered nearly the whole of Europe.

Almost all the historians who have given an account of these towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries assert, that in consequence of certain rights, immunities, or privileges obtained from their monarchs, or from governments in their vicinity, they rose into importance. This is substituting cause for effect. The commercial industry of the populations enabling them to obtain a certain amount of property, caused a middle class to spring up, and those rights and privileges were

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then desired and obtained, which, of course, enabled them further to increase their commerce, but did not originate it.

"The cities of this country," says a quaint old writer, "are of three sorts.* The first are called Hansetownes or Hansteden, *quasi* An zee Steden, that is, "towns on the sea." They enjoy large privileges and immunities, and are in number seventy-two, each of which is able to put to sea a hundred and fifty good shippes. Three of the principall of them are, Lubeck, Hamburghe, and Staade. Lubeck is situated on the northern banke of the Trane, which, on the east side, divideth Germany from Denmarke. It was once a dukedome, but made part of the empire by Frederick the First. After his death they chose another duke, who five years after was taken by the Danes, and from them delivered by Frederick II., who enfranchised it. Hamburghe is seated on the north banke of the Albis, there where it divideth Germany from Denmarke on the west. In this towne are 777 brewers, one lawyer, one physician, and forty bakers. The reason of this disproportion is, their differences are sooner decided over a canne, than by order of law. As for bread, it is not held fit for their muddy and corrupt bodies. The second sort of cities in Germany are they which are holden by inheritance of some princes, as Heidelberg, Vienna, &c. The

* This curious sketch of the Hanse Towns was given by Peter Heylyn, and published at Oxford in 1629.

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third sort are the free and imperial cities, which are sixty in number. They are called free, for their great prerogative of coyning money, and rating by their owne lawes imperiall, as knowing no lord protector but the emperour, to whom they pay two-third parts of such contributions as are assessed in their assemblies, and about 1500 hovens yearely for themselves and their territories. Those citties thus enjoying so many priviledges, and having so full a command over the neighbouring country, and the villages thereof, are exceedingly rich and potent."

"The Hanse Towns, at present, are reduced to these six, viz., Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Rostock, Dantzic, and Cologne. In the most flourishing times of the confederacy, the Hanse Towns had four general staples for the sale of their merchandise, viz., London, in England, Bruges, in Flanders, Bergen, in Norway, and Novogorod, in Russia. This confederacy grew so powerful, that they (who at first made it only for the security of their trade and mutual defence against princes) attempted a war against Waldimir III., King of Denmark: their fleet went to Copenhagen and put the king to flight, and took Schonen, which they kept sixteen years. They sent another fleet, A. D. 1428, against Eric, King of Denmark, with twelve thousand land forces, and put him to very hard shifts. In 1615 they relieved the town of Brunswick, besieged by the duke of that name. They had formerly for their

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protector the great master of the Teutonic order, sometimes the King of Sweden, sometimes the King of Spain, as sovereign of the lay countries; but they have been a long time without any protectors."*

The Hanse Towns first acquired their commerce, not wholly from the industry of the people by whom they were occupied, but in part from their peculiar situation, where a facility for the import or export of commodities was found. Their relative prosperity was also augmented by the ignorance, deficiency in enterprise, domestic feuds, despotic governments, or other causes by which the rest of Europe was retained in a state of barbarism and ignorance. Under such circumstances it cannot excite surprise that these towns became the focus of nearly the entire trade of the northern parts of Europe.

"In those days the Dantzickers opposed themselves (A. D. 1637) to the impost laid upon the merchandise that passed to the new town of Ulaslavia, by Casimir of Poland. They obtained from him great privileges, the remission of tribute, and the guard of the sea. This love of liberty made them declare for the Protestant religion, and for Maximilian against Stephen Bathori, who thereupon proscribed and afterwards besieged them; but they recovered their liberty and religion. They obtained

* Hessius's History of the Empire.

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the right to coin their money, administer justice, and make one of the members of the state; and were admitted, in 1632, to have suffrages in electing the king."—CLUVIER, *Hennenberger Descr. Boruss.*

The Hanse union in some respects resembled a federal union: each place retained that sort of government and those laws within its precincts that were most agreeable and most in accordance with the welfare of the people, and in unison with their wishes or particular social relations. This sort of union gave them additional security against invasion from more powerful states, and answered well the purposes of commerce.

When this federal association was formed by the Hanse Towns*, the nations of Europe were in a deplorable state of ignorance and deficiency of commercial or manufacturing industry; and the population, earning a precarious subsistence, were chiefly occupied, like barbarous tribes, in offensive or defensive warfare with each other. These towns attained the greatest extent of their commercial influence at the period that the United Provinces threw off the Spanish yoke, from which time, in proportion as the Dutch by their activity supplanted them in the carrying trade, they declined in theirs. At the first formation of the Hanse Towns, they had no competitors to rival their commerce, and the monopoly was profitable.

* A. D. 1428.

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These towns may again revive; formerly they rose into importance from the low degree of civilisation of their neighbours; they may now recover by the great demand for manufactured articles, and the spirit of enterprise so general from the increase of civilisation.

The example of the Hanse confederacy, and the republics of Genoa and Venice, in every respect confirms the influence of civilisation over forms of government, and substantiates the observations that have been made respecting the countries already taken into consideration. *

During the most flourishing period of their history, the citizens of all the Italian republics did not amount to twenty thousand; and these privileged classes, or citizens, held as many millions in subjection. The citizens of Venice amounted to two thousand five hundred; those of Genoa to four thousand; those of Pisa, Lucca, Sienna, and Florence, taken together, about six thousand. The right of citizenship thus secluded, was guarded with as much jealousy as the title to a private

* "But it was in the imperial cities that Charles met with the most violent opposition to the "Interim." These small commonwealths, the citizens of which were accustomed to liberty and independence, had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation when they were first published with remarkable eagerness; the bold spirit of innovation being peculiarly suited to the genius of a free government. Among them the Protestant teachers had made the greatest number of proselytes." — *Robertson's Charles V.*, book ix.

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estate. To the conquered provinces no boons were extended, no rights were conceded. The jealous and exclusive spirit of monopoly ruled the fortunes of the state as much as it cramped the energies of the surrounding subject territory. From freedom thus confined, no general benefit could be expected; on a basis thus narrowed, no structure of permanent duration could be reared.*

Of these republican free states, rising in separate parts of Europe, and in different ages, the treatment of their dependents was nearly as reprehensible as the neglect of their moral duties. In Greece they were treated as abject slaves, put to death, sold, or bartered, as suited the caprice or interest of their masters. But, in the Hanse Towns and the Italian states, the lot of the dependent population was far superior to that of the Grecian slaves or helots; yet they were denied equality of laws, and other rights the unalienable privileges of man. In the citizens of these states great depravity existed; not however equal to what is recorded to have prevailed among the Greeks. In the Italian republics bigotry usurped the place of religion: and both in those states and in the Hanse Towns the deficiency in the eternal principles of justice — the manner in which they treated those populations under their control — caused their dependents to be careless of their fate; willingly to unite under the standard of

* Alison.

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some adventurous neighbouring baron, or bishop, or potentate; and, in place of defending those liberties which, had they participated, they would willingly have preserved, they assisted in rivetting the fetters of absolute power over the citizens and over themselves; gratifying their revenge, and repaying, as they thought, the wrongs done them, by involving all in one common ruin.

Thus did these states, at various periods of time, rise and fall, flourish and decay, from deficiency in social duties towards the populations under their influence!

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CHAPTER XIII.

SWEDEN.

Facility of Communication deficient in Scandinavia. — Bravery of the Natives.—State of Sweden in former Times. — Tyranny and Treachery of Christiern, King of Denmark. — Massacre in the Streets of Stockholm. — Introduction into Sweden of Luther's Doctrines. — Difficulty in abolishing Roman Church Ceremonies. — Progress of Civilisation in Sweden.

In the northern parts of Europe, one of the elements of civilisation, called facility of communication, is greatly checked for part of the year by the severity of the climate, which shuts up the ports and buries the roads in snow. Partly on this account, the north has been behind the south, in the progress of improvement, from the earliest days. To counteract, however, in some degree, their deficiency in civilisation, the bravery and hardihood of the natives of Scandinavia have been shown in the course of many centuries; and, until the use of gunpowder, and the improvements in the art of war arising from that great discovery, the people of the northern portions of Europe appear to have been more than a match for their southern neighbours, or even for those living at a greater distance.

Sweden will be found to have continued for centuries nearly in the same situation as other

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European nations, that is to say, the mass of the people were ignorant, superstitious, and nearly barbarous; they suffered the greatest privations from deficiency of food and of all the comforts and conveniences of life, and existed in a state of bondage or slavery nearly commensurate with the extent of their ignorance. To add to the wretchedness of this state of existence, they were engaged in endless wars, inflicting as much misery and suffering on their neighbours as they themselves endured in attempts at subjugation and conquest. "The people of Swethland participate much in nature with the Norwegians: from hence came the Gothes, Suevi, Longobards, &c., and other barbarous nations, which, by their frequent inundations over all Europe, gave occasion to the old adage, 'Omne malum ab aquilone.' The first people of this Gothia were the Vandals, who first went into Poland, and afterwards into Italy, Spain, and Africa, and the Gothes, who, being a people of Scythia, called Getæ and Gepidi, seated themselves in Mysia. Afterwards, for feare of the Romans, they returned into Scandinavia, and inhabited this part, since called Gothia; but, not liking the coldness of the climate, they returned again to their former habitation of Mysia, where Decius the emperor warred against them, to the death of himself and his son. * Not long after, they were subdued by the Huns." †

* A. D. 253. † Peter Heylyn, 1629.

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When overrun by the Danes, the Swedes were cruelly treated by the King of Denmark, as appears from the following account, given by the Abbé Vertot, in his "Revolution of Sweden," since which period, the several events which have taken place are so well known as not to require any notice.

His ministers told him (Christiern) in a cabinet council, that he ought, in pursuance of the indispensable rules of policy, to secure the principal nobles of Sweden: that he could not establish his power without abolishing the senate, which they represented as a body of factious persons, who on all occasions assumed a liberty to control and oppose the royal authority: that he ought to rid himself of senators, who were formidable to the crown by reason of the vastness of their estates, and the authority they had over the people; and that he ought only to have such persons in the kingdom whose ambition was curbed by the meanness of their condition, and who could not pretend to any higher employment than tilling the ground and paying tribute to their sovereign.

The King invited all the senate (1520) to a magnificent feast, which he ordered to be prepared in the castle, as a mark of his joy on the occasion of his accession to the crown. The senate in a body, and all the principal noblemen who were then at Stockholm, attended his majesty in obedience to his desire. The two first days were spent in entertainments, and all manner of

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solemn and diverting recreations. The King received his guests with all the marks of an obliging kindness and familiarity. The Swedes endeavoured to lose the memory of their ancient fears and jealousies, and flattered themselves with the prospect of a lasting and undisturbed happiness; but, on the third day, they were awakened out of their excessive security in a most terrible and surprising manner. The archbishop of Upsal, accompanied by his relations and creatures, appeared before the King in a full meeting of the estates, and publicly demanded justice against all the senators and lords of the kingdom, who had forced him to resign his dignity, and to demolish the fort of Secque, which belonged to the patrimony of the church. The King pretended that the Pope's commissioners were the only proper judges, and desired the archbishop to propose his grievances to those to whom the bull of Leo X. was directed, protesting that he would only use his authority to execute the sentence according to the bull, and the intentions of the Holy Father.

The Danish bishops, by virtue of the Pope's commission, began to proceed against them (the consuls, magistrates of Stockholm, and ninety-four members of the senate, who had been arrested by order of the King, and lodged in the castle) as heretics; but the King of Denmark, being unwilling to lose time in examining and convicting those whom he had already doomed to destruction, and

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apprehensive that their supporters would attempt to release them, resolved to dispense with the formality of a trial, and sent executioners to acquaint the prisoners with their impending fate. The 8th of November was the day appointed for the fatal solemnity. The whole garrison was in arms. The guns were mounted in the market-place with their mouths turned towards the principal streets; the people were seized with terror. At last, about noon, the gates of the castle were opened, and disclosed the mournful scene. A troop of illustrious victims, who were for the most part adorned with the badges of their dignity, marched out in dismal pomp, and were led by the executioner to the slaughter.

Yet the King, instead of being satisfied with the death of so many illustrious persons, was extremely vexed that some of the highest consequence, whom he had particularly inserted in the black roll, had escaped his fury. He imagined they lay concealed in the town; and, so desirous was he to discover one of them, Gustavus, whom he thought might be hidden in some house in the city, that, to give full scope to his vengeance, he resolved to confound the innocent with the guilty, and to expose the town to the fury of his soldiers. As soon as they had received these bloody orders, they fell upon the people who attended to see the dismal spectacle, and promiscuously murdered all that had the misfortune to be in their way. Afterwards they broke into the principal houses, under pretext of search-

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ing for Gustavus and the rest of the proscribed noblemen. None were spared except those protected by poverty: all the rest were made a prey to the rage of the soldiers, who, by the orders and after the example of their inhuman sovereign, strove to outdo each other in the wildest and most extravagant barbarity. "Christiern, King of Denmarke," says Peter Heylyn, "committed unspeakeable cruelties in Stockholme, filling the channels with blood, and the streets with dead bodies."

The doctrines of Luther, about the year 1520, began to be known in Sweden; they were introduced at first by the German soldiers, whom Gustavus had induced to join his standard, and fight in his cause. The religion of these men, however, was evinced only in the licentious contempt with which they treated the monks, and all descriptions of religious orders. At a subsequent period two brothers, Laurentius and Olaus Petri, of the province of Nericin, propagated these doctrines with considerable success. These brothers had been instructed by Luther in his doctrines at Wurtemberg, and they promulgated his tenets in Sweden with all the zeal and enthusiasm usually evinced by those who entertain new opinions, particularly when the converts deem it both important and requisite that old errors should be refuted, and truth should be established. When Gustavus had driven out Christiern, and had assumed the sovereign power, he became desirous of establishing uniformity of

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religion throughout the kingdom. For this purpose a general assembly of the clergy was held at Orebro, the principal town of Nericin, in which the Augsburg Confession, as the rule and standard of faith, was adopted, and they solemnly renounced their obedience to the Pope as head of the Church. The Roman form of worship was accordingly abolished.

Yet Gustavus met with great difficulties in his attempts to repudiate the practice of the Roman Church. The people, and the women particularly, could not be satisfied without some of the ceremonies to which they had been used. The whole kingdom was filled with mournings and complaints on the occasion. Gustavus, fearing the discontents of the people should break out into a new rebellion, ordered the Lutheran ministers to comply with those who stood up obstinately for the ancient ceremonies, and not to use the new, except where they found a temper disposed to receive them.

There is no necessity to enter into more details of the advance of civilisation in this nation. Precisely the same results are discernible in the progress of improvement in that northern people, as we have already observed in those nations of whom mention has been made. At first a wretched state of existence, characterised by every species of violence, spoliation, and oppression*: then an arbitrary

* "The feudal barons fortified their castles, and made them the seats of their petty empires; they treated their vassals like

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government, continually occupied in external conflicts, to gratify the army, which gave the monarch his power; and, lastly, an improved state of social relations, and the elements of civilisation gradually expanding themselves, and ameliorating the condition of the people.

menial servants, though they allowed them no wages: they made them till the lands, and oftentimes obliged them to take up arms to make incursions into the territories of their neighbours." — *Vertot's Revolution*, part i. vol. i.

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CHAPTER XIV.

RUSSIA.

Proportion in Russia of the several Classes of Society. — Decay of Feudal Tenure. — Sketch of Russian Manners in former Times. — Facility of Intercourse. — Despotism of the Czar. — The Knout-meister. — Terror inspired by this Officer. — Private Punishments of Persons of Rank. — Castigations administered by Peter the Great. — Gradual Improvement in Russia.

In Russia, the proportion of the several classes of society to each other bears a strong resemblance to the state of these classes in England, near the time of Henry VII., and in France, about two centuries from this period. The upper ranks, not very numerous, but powerful from their extensive possessions, in conjunction with the Imperial or executive government, are the chief proprietors of the land; and arts, commerce, and manufactures, are too much in their infancy to have as yet produced a powerful middle class.

In process of time, the individuals of which the upper class in Russia is composed, may be diminished in numbers and in influence, by the increase of luxury, by desire of gratifying vanity or extravagance, or from other causes, similar to those by which the feudal barons of old,

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in England, France, and Spain, lost gradually that influence in the state, which was in the first case absorbed by the crown, and subsequently divided among a middle class, when public opinion manifested itself.

The consequence of this will be, that the magnificence of feudal hospitality, fortified mansions, numerous bands of idle retainers, baronial power, and all the concomitants of the feudal appropriation of property, will gradually melt away before the cheering rays of commercial and manufacturing activity, and thus the middle class will rise into notice and influence.

Although the welfare of the nation may demand it, yet, whatever tends to reduce the individuals of which one class is composed into an inferior class, is to be lamented, as far as the parties themselves are concerned: but such a state of things cannot be prevented. The remarks concerning the rise of the middle class under Henry VII. and Elizabeth, in England, apply to Russia under the late and the present reign; and the same consequences are apparent in the formation of public opinion.

The empire of Russia comprises a vast territory, and a population, active, industrious, and every year increasing. Little apprehension of foreign invasion can be entertained; and, from the nature of things, the community will direct its attention to the creation of capital, by which their civilisation will increase.

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An old writer on the several nations of the world gives the following account of this country:—"The people of Muscovie live in miserable subjection to the nobles, and they again in as great slavery to the duke or emperor, to whom no man dare immediately exhibite a petition or make knowne his grievances: nay, the meaner lords are squeamish in this kinde, and but on great submission will not commend unto the duke a poor man's cause. They are altogether unlearned. Even the priests are meanely indoctrinated; it being cautioned by the great duke, that there be no schooles, lest there should be any schollers but himselfe: so that the people use to breake the sabboth, holding it fit onely to be kept by gentlemen; and, to say in other talke, all we enjoy, health and life, are all from our great duke." *

Not to enter at length into any particulars regarding the history of this extensive portion of Europe, let us ascertain only how far any sort of information was general throughout the community. Like other nations, in the course of the centuries that have past, the Russians were involved incessantly in hostilities with their neighbours. "In matters of warre the people are indifferently able, as being almost in continuall broyles with their neighbours. There is no nation so kindly entertained among them, both prince and people, as

* Peter Heylyn, Oxford, 1629.

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the English, who have many immunities not granted to other nations. The cause I cannot but attribute to the undying fame of our late queene, admired and loved of the barbarians, and also to the conformable behaviour of the English in general, which hath been so plausible that when Basiliades nayled the hat of another forraine embassadour to his head for his peremptorinesse, he at the same time viewed our Sir Thomas Smith with all curtesie imaginable. Another time, when the Jesuit Possevinus began to exhort him to accept the Romish faith, upon the information of our embassadour that the pope was a proud prelate, and would make kings kisse his feet, he grew into such a rage, that Possevinus thought he would have beaten out his braines." *

One of the first requisites for improvement — facility of communication, either by roads, navigable rivers, or canals, so necessary for internal communication, is not common in the interior of Russia. Where this is the case, the expense of making and keeping roads in repair, as well as other means of conveyance, checks much the activity and increase of intelligence of the people. This difficulty attending communication can only apply to the interior: on the sea-coast, in the large towns, in every place where foreign or home trade can be encouraged, there is little doubt that a middle class will arise.

* Peter Heylyn, Oxford, 1629.

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The following account, written in the last century, will show the condition of Russia at that time. "The Czar almost gives laws to his people, and fixes taxes as he pleases. He has other revenues for himself in particular, and takes possession of all the estates and goods of those that die without issue; and if there be any rich persons incapable of serving him in war, or elsewhere, he takes part of their possessions for himself, or for some officer. And the Czar's power is so great, that he is master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, who *acknowledge themselves his slaves.* His power is maintained by making it death to all Moscovites to travel without the prince's leave; *the next is the ignorance of the people.* When a debtor is unwilling to pay, or to give security, he becomes slave to the Czar, or to some other, if the prince pleases. It is a very hard matter to know the Czar's titles; and the pretence of war he made against the Polanders, in 1645, was, that *they had not given him the titles due to him.* One of his predecessors caused an Italian ambassador's hat to be nailed to his head, because he kept it on before him." *

The vices of the government seem in every nation to keep pace with the corruption of the people. Perhaps these act mutually in producing one another; just as, in certain diseases, the derangement of the body induces mental debility, and

* Collier's Historical Account of Muscovy, folio, London, 1701.

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the debility thus induced increases the bodily disorder from which it arose. Whatever there may be in this supposition, the spirit of the Russian government and the manners of the Russians were formerly well adapted to one another. A free government would hardly be relished by the nation in its then state, and a more enlightened nation would not tamely have submitted to such a government.

A short account may be here inserted from a description of the manners of the Russians in the last century, given by an Englishman* long resident in Russia, which is repeated, to afford some notion of the then state of society in that part of Europe.

"Not only may masters order their slaves to be knouted by the public executioner, without assigning any reason but their own pleasure, but a mandate is sometimes issued under the authority of government, ordering the *knout-meister-general* to inflict the same punishment on persons of rank and fashion who have had the misfortune to fall under suspicion; that is, who have given offence to some of those poisonous insects which, under the name of courtiers and favourites, are continually buzzing about the ears of majesty. In these cases, the knout-meister, attended by some of his gang, goes privately to the house of the devoted person, and whatever be the rank, or sex, or age of his victim, executes his orders with unpitying rigour.

* Account of Scandinavia, vol. i. p. 9. Robinson, London, 1796.

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"I have been told (for I never had an opportunity of seeing it) that when this officer is ordered to Moscow, which sometimes happens, as most of the disaffected or disappointed nobles have their winter residences there, his appearance operates like the breaking out of the plague. *The public places are shut up;* social intercourse is almost wholly suspended; and the city waits in fearful expectation where the blow is to fall; for it is well known that the knout-meister never makes such journeys in vain.

"You express your astonishment how any nation can submit to a government which authorises such enormities as the private castigations mentioned in my letter. Had you attended to the internal history of the empire, your surprise would have ceased. The annals of the princes of this country, with only a few exceptions, are stained with deeds of uncommon atrocity. The gibbet, the axe, and the knout, were the great instruments of administration; and hence the people, seeing the rod of tyranny continually waving over their heads, became by degrees callous to its impression. From the practice of submitting to the will of their princes arose habits of subjection in the people, which have rendered them the willing victims of arbitrary power, and rivetted the fetters of despotism."

A change in all probability must ensue, either by some violent, declared, and open resistance,

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as occurred in England in the contest between the monarch and the parliament in the Rebellion, or the sovereign and his advisers in a despotic monarchy may become aware of the alteration that is taking place, and be willing to admit those improvements demanded by the improved condition of the people. In either case, the same results will follow, which will be, an amelioration in the political institutions, a gradual definition of the prerogative, and the several gradations of improvement which have taken place in this island. That such will be the result of the increase of civilisation seems scarcely doubtful: at what period the community will be sufficiently advanced for such an amelioration is uncertain. The question as to time can scarcely be answered. Judging from the following account, compared with the present condition of Russia, the nation is certainly in a state of progressive improvement. The exercise of the supreme authority is much milder; and a Russian gentleman may now be classed among the most educated and polished men of Europe.

"The forms of government which have been sanctified in Russia by immemorial prescription, appear fully adequate to account for the abject submission which distinguishes the subjects of this empire. Without recurring to the barbarity of more ancient times, I shall beg leave to turn your attention to Peter the Great, justly in many respects styled the Father of his coun-

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try. I need not remind you of the atrocious punishments inflicted in his name and by his authority. You cannot be ignorant of them, and I do not wish to revive in you the sentiments of horror and indignation which you must have felt in perusing the accounts of them. Peter, indeed, seldom had recourse to the *private* mode of punishment which I mentioned in my last; but he often punished *with his own hands* such delinquents as he did not wish to deliver up to the public executioner. The instances of this kind that are on record, are almost innumerable. I select a single example. He had summoned a meeting of his council, I have forgotten on what occasion, at seven in the morning. When he entered the senate-house, he was astonished to find not one of those arrived whom he had ordered to attend. By the time he had waited about ten minutes, and wrought himself up to a proper degree of rage, the president appears; who, seeing the storm that was about to fall on him, begins to make an apology, but in vain. Peter, whose passions never listened to excuses, instantly seizes and belabours him most severely. Every member shared the same fate according to the order of his arrival, until General Gordon arrived. The general was not a little alarmed at the appearance which the council-room presented. But the Emperor's rage was by this time pretty well exhausted; and he only told Gordon that, as he had not been punctual

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to his time, he was very lucky in being *so far* behind it. 'For,' added he, 'I am already sufficiently fatigued with beating these scoundrels, and I understand that a Scotch constitution does not agree well with a drubbing.'

"But it seems to be owing to the respectable origin of this mode of castigation that there is less of disgrace connected with it than could easily be imagined. It is well known that chastisements which Peter the Great inflicted with his own hand were never supposed to disgrace those who suffered them. When a courtier was soundly drubbed, or pulled by the nose, or had a tooth torn out by the Emperor, (at all which exercises Peter was remarkably dextrous,) he suffered only the bodily pain of the operation. His honour was not in the least affected. And as it seldom happened that his master put less confidence in him after such an accident than he had done before it, his credit suffered as little as his honour. Menzikoff used to appear in all his native haughtiness and presumption, *even when his countenance bore the most unequivocal marks of his master's resentment.* In like manner, the private infliction of the knout is hardly supposed to disgrace a Russian gentleman more than flagellation does an English school-boy.

"On these accounts, this species of discipline is less atrocious, and excites less abhorrence, than you seem to imagine. When an instance of it occurs, those who hear of it thank their good fortune that

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they were not the victims, and continue to treat the sufferer with the same consideration as before. I must also add, that the instances of it which now occur are VERY RARE." *

This is a tolerable specimen of arbitrary power, such as existed in Russia of late years, and was general throughout Europe a century earlier. It is worthy of remark, that wherever the sovereign power is entirely upheld by an armed force, the caprice or ambition of the leaders of this force tempts them at times to forswear the allegiance they owe to their monarch, and to make no scruple of putting him out of the way. The sudden manner in which some of the emperors of Russia have been deprived of their throne and their life; the destruction, even within the 19th century, of the Emperor Paul, so affectingly described by an eloquent French writer and politician of the present day †, confirms this observation. Even if we look back to the days of the Cæsars, we find a strong similarity both in their situation and their fate with some of the Emperors of Russia. The empire of the Cæsars and of the Russian monarchs was most extensive, their power unlimited, and without a shadow of control; the throne was kept up by a numerous armed force, that held in subjection the entire population; and, to crown the resemblance in a melancholy manner, we find in both a pre-

* Account of Scandinavia, 1796.

† M. Thiers, "Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire."

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carious tenure of life, and of the empire. In the former and more ancient empire, the prætorian guards deprived the sovereign, either through caprice or interest, of the Imperial dignity; in Russia, the regiments of Guards, or rather their leaders, acted in precisely a similar manner.

To these examples may be added, those afforded by the Janissaries, in Turkey, towards their sultan. Let us hope the day is now past in Europe, for a repetition of such shocking scenes as those to which we have alluded.

The upper rank in Russia is improving in education and information of every description; a middle class is rising into existence; facility of communication is improving. The trade of this empire, the condition of part of the people, and the advancement in moral principle, all tend to the same result.

Russia, therefore, like every other country in which the state of public opinion has been considered, seems to confirm the position, that a government is despotic in proportion as its population is inactive, ignorant, immoral, and poor; and such a state is characterised by an upper class or aristocracy, and a miserable lower class. When a middle class is formed by the creation of capital, public opinion, fatal to despotism on the one hand, and ignorance on the other, becomes all-powerful.

Suppose any government were anxious to check the spirit of commerce, and the desire of improvement so common to mankind, and that steps were taken

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to prevent foreign or domestic communication, and the other requisites for the formation of public opinion; that alienation of property in the upper class was discouraged, and they were not permitted to dispose of their estates; even in such a case, it would be almost impossible to suppress the spirit of improvement, and the middle class. A despotic government is fond of obtaining wealth, — is sensible, in the present day, that money is the chief source of its power; it will, therefore, encourage all those who, by their activity, add to the riches of the state. In this respect the "auri sacra fames" gets the better of political consideration, or of love of absolute power.

In so vast a territory as Russia,—with very indifferent means for communication, — with so small an extent of sea coast when compared to the interior,—with even those means afforded by sea closed for part of the year, thereby rendering the intercourse with all other countries difficult for a time, it cannot be expected that the people will rapidly increase in civilisation.

Russia, however, has in one respect a great advantage over other continental states. As already observed, she can entertain no fear of invasion. After the failure of Napoleon's attempt on her territory, with an army greater in numbers, more efficient, and more flushed with the enthusiasm of glory and conquest, than any armed force that is likely, in the course of future generations, ever

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to be brought into the field against her, Russia cannot reasonably anticipate any dread of invasion: so long as she remains in a defensive attitude, she is invulnerable. Under such circumstances, a large standing army can only consume the energies of the people, or contribute to the maintenance of the ruling sovereign's power, but is scarcely necessary to the national defence. How far a people, not as yet possessed of great capital, may be kept down in their exertions by an over-demand for an army and other expenses, does not belong to our subject.

The government of Russia is advancing with the state of improvement in Europe, and is unquestionably milder of late years. Let us hope that liberality of sentiment may continue in that empire.

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ASIA AND AMERICA.

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CHAPTER I.

ASIA.

General Characteristics of Asia. — Civilisation not forwarded by its Influence. — Prevalence of unmixed Despotism. — Folly and Tyranny of Akbar. — Asia desolated by Wars and Conquests. — Cruelty of Aurengzebe. — Slavery in Hindoostan. — Cause of the continued Degradation of Asiatics. — Immolation of Human Beings under the Brahminical System. — Horrid Rites and Abominations at Juggernaut. — Contrast between the former and present State of India. — The Thugs. — Burning of Women. — Hereditary Slavery.

THE wide field that Asia presents, and the difference in manners and language of the several nations that occupy this quarter of the world, are so great, that, to enter into any detailed account of each, would demand more space than could be afforded in such a work as the present.

Still, this great continent exemplifies so clearly the want of that national progression here traced, that a few general remarks on the peculiar state of the population that covers its surface may not be superfluous.

This quarter of the globe is generally distinguished for serenity of climate and fertility of soil. In the delicious quality of its fruits — the pungency and fragrance of its spices — the balsamic character

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of its gums — the beauty of its plants — the richness of its metals — and the profusion and fine texture of its silks and cottons, Asia surpasses Europe. In addition to these gifts of Providence, Asia can secure facility of communication by wide and navigable rivers, by the multitude of large islands in its seas, and by its extensive population. Such extraordinary advantages ought to have enabled Asia to take the lead in civilisation and wealth, and to spread these blessings over the other quarters of the world.

But to what shall it be attributed that civilisation is *not* indebted to Asia? It is true that the great source of national happiness and virtue — the doctrines of Christ, were first promulgated on the Asiatic borders. This wonderful circumstance did not, however, arise from any merit in the people, neither did they avail themselves of the mighty truths thus revealed. The cradle of Christianity soon ceased to be its home; and the Saviour's words and example, instead of spreading eastward, travelled to the west, and found an abiding-place in Europe. Why should this have been? It may be answered, that the people were so besotted by immorality as to be utterly incapable of receiving the pure, lofty, and pious teaching of Him who came to save mankind.

From the earliest times over which tradition throws the faintest light, to the present hour, the Asiatics have groaned under despotism of the most

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grievous kind, imposed on them by various conquerors. The Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and other nations, were subjugated by the descendants of Genghis Khan. Romans, Saracens, Turks, and Tartars have successively established themselves over miserable Eastern populations. To these wretched people, it was a matter of little importance whether they were oppressed by one or other of their conquerors, inasmuch as their toil never ceased, and whatever imposts were laid on them were permanent. Excepting some wandering and pastoral tribes of Arabs and Tartars, the influence of pure and unmixed despotism was paramount over Asia. Not only were the lives and property of whole communities at the entire disposal of their sovereign, but whatever form of religion he dictated, was implicitly professed. Slavery, therefore, of mind and body, was universal; and superstition, oppression, rapine, and cruelty, stalked through the land in plenitude of power.

About a century after the time of Tamerlane, one of his successors, Akbar, much praised by the Jesuit missionaries then in Asia, both for his conquests and his talents, is thus mentioned by Father Aquaviva, one of that body:—"It was then at Lahore that the Mogul Akbar first announced himself the enemy of Mahometanism. The mosques were shut up or changed into stables; the people were all exhorted, as well as the officers, to the new mode of Pagan worship, the adoration of the sun,

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which he practised three times a day—at the rising of that luminary, when it was at its meridian, and at its setting." Subsequently, however, the Mogul changed, and he adopted another fancy. "He, Akbar, filled up the measure of his folly by wishing to be himself adored as a deity. Every morning he presented himself upon a balcony to the view of his people, who prostrated themselves on his appearance. He received their petitions, heard their prayers, and caused to be reported among a credulous populace that the requests which they had addressed to him were miraculously fulfilled."*

"The extent of the imperial domains of the Mogul is equivalent to that of the whole land of the empire. The Mogul is the sole proprietor of the entire soil, and the only heir of his people. To form an idea, therefore, of his revenue, it will be necessary to estimate the produce extracted from the soil."†

Wars and conquests have, from time immemorial, desolated Asia. We see first the Mahometan armies spreading themselves in every direction. The Tartar tribes, under Tamerlane, at the close of the fourteenth century, overcame the followers of Mahomet in the battle where Bajazet was taken prisoner by Tamerlane, and the greater part of Asia, including Persia, was subdued by the latter. This was, in fact, one ferocious tribe con-

* Mogul History, by François Catrou, (Jesuit.)
† Ibid.

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quering another of a similar character. The savage and barbarous state of the Tartars at the time may be ascertained. "Miracha, the son of Tamerlane, at the head of a body of Tartars, had a mock engagement with another body of his father's army. They engaged, however, with so much fury (though at first in play), that a small number only on both sides survived. This irritated Tamerlane to such a degree, that he twice gave orders that his son should be put to death, and as often retracted the order."*

If any evidence were required of the state of morals amongst the great conquerors of Asia, look at the destruction of the human race they occasioned, the wanton cruelties they practised, not only on the people they conquered, but on their own subjects, and even on their brothers and children. "The hatred which Aurengzebe had conceived against his brother did not end with the life: after he had caused him to be beheaded, he ordered his head to be brought to him, and examined it with satisfaction." [Here follows a statement of a series of indignities on his brother's remains.] In another place the same writer, an enthusiastic admirer of the Mogul race, observes, "Nothing can be more simple than the springs that move this great empire. The emperor is the soul of the whole. As his rule is as absolute as his right over the soil, the

* Mogul History, by François Catrou, (Jesuit.)

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whole authority is concentrated in his person alone, and, properly speaking, there is but one master in Hindoostan. All the rest are more entitled to be regarded as slaves than subjects."*

No wonder such an empire could not hold together. Look at the various governments of Asia: in nearly all you will find the sovereign considered as proprietor of the land. All the cultivators of the soil can be dismissed or replaced at his will, or that of his representatives. The lower class are sensible of their utter dependence on the master who can deprive them of food; and this right, recognised in the sovereign authority, is the formal foundation of his absolute power.†

In the various tribes and nations spread over the vast territory comprised under the name of Asia, there are few exceptions to be found in which the populations are not subjected to a grievous despotism. Some historians seem to entertain an opinion that the people in this region were *partial* to despotism; as if any set of men would feel desirous to place their lives or property at the mercy of another.

Assuming a deficiency in the requisites for civilisation, general in the Asiatics, to be the real cause why their kingdoms and empires have so often changed hands, the despotic form of government is probably the best they could have; but such an

* François Catrou, (Jesuit,) History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 318.

† Sismondi.

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uncontrolled power does not arise from their choice or their affection: it springs from the small extent both of information and of a middle class, when compared to the lower class, that is to be found in nearly all the Asiatic communities whose situation can be noticed. Let the history of this portion of the globe be perused: in every page our remark will be confirmed, and the facts we have stated be admitted beyond any manner of doubt.

Whence has this continued degradation of the human species arisen? Whence does it happen that such a population has for countless ages been thus steeped in ignorance, barbarism, and slavery?—that man has been treated not as a human being? Simply because the essential requisite for civilisation, moral principle, has been wanting. The eternal law of justice has been lost sight of, and the consequence of this neglect is apparent.

Without detailing the shocking acts of injustice and human destruction which, for ages, have been in daily operation in Asia, let us survey the most inoffensive and probably the best part of the Asiatic races, the Hindoos, among whom we shall find the grossest and most revolting superstition, leading to and encouraging bloodshed, and every kind of atrocity. "In the opinion of every one to whom my statement has been shown," says a reverend gentleman*, "and who have visited Hindoostan,

* The Rev. W. Ward, "View of the Hindoos," vol. ii. p. 129.

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the calculations I have made are far below the real fact; but if they are not beyond the truth, what a horrible view do they present of the effects of superstition! Since the commencement of the Brahminical system, millions of victims have been immolated on the altars of bigotry; and, notwithstanding the influence of Europeans, the whole of Hindoostan may be termed a field of blood to this day." The writer proceeds to show the yearly destruction of human life, and adds, "I must leave to the pens of future historians to give to these scenes that just colouring that will harrow up the soul of future generations. I leave to them the description of those legitimate murders, perpetrated at the command of the high-priests of idolatry, who, by the magic spell of superstition, have induced men to quit their homes, and travel on foot a thousand miles, for the sake of beholding an idol cut out of a tree, or dug from an adjoining quarry, — to prevail on men to commit murders, to supply human victims for the altars of their religion,— on mothers to butcher their own children,— on children to apply the lighted torch to the pile that is to devour their living mothers. To crown the whole, these priests of idolatry have persuaded men to worship them as deities, to lick the dust off their feet, and even to cut lumps of their flesh, and to sacrifice their own lives as offerings."

Such is the state of the most quiet population of Asia,— a population that, with its natural advan-

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tages, frugality, patient endurance of labour, and, in many respects, amiable qualities, might, centuries far gone, have enjoyed happiness and civilisation.

The heart sickens at the bare recital of the abominable superstitions, impure rites, and murderous idolatries of Pagan nations. Mr. Gibbon styles the dark and abominable worship of the ancients, "the elegant mythology of the Greeks;" and the still more degraded system of Hindoo mythology has found even defenders and admirers. The following pages will exhibit a compound of absurdity, wickedness, and cruelty, in most hateful forms.

An Englishman visiting India early in this century has given a faithful and striking picture of the horrors practised by the idolatrous Hindoos at Juggernaut.

"Budderick, May 30. 1806.

"We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it) by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. We have been joined by perhaps 2000 pilgrims, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some say that they have been two months on their march, travelling in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road; and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain by the river, near the pilgrim's caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls.

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"I passed a devotee to-day who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut by the length of his body, as a penance of merit to please the god."

"Juggernaut, 14th June, 1806.

"I have seen Juggernaut. No record of history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death: it may be truly compared with the valley of Hinnom. The idol called Juggernaut has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named; for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely, Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister: for there are three deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.

"—— This morning I viewed the temple; a stupendous fabric, and truly commensurate with the extensive sway of 'the horrid king.' As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Juggernaut has representations (numerous and varied) of that vice which constitutes the essence of his worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems in massive and durable sculpture. I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims; and

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another place a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usually cast forth, and where dogs and vultures are ever seen. I reside at the house of James Hunter, Esq., the Company's collector of the tax on pilgrims and superintendent of the temple. His house is on the sea shore, about a mile or more from the temple. He cannot live nearer on account of the effluvia of the town. For, independently of the enormity of the superstition, there are other circumstances which render Juggernaut noisome in an extreme degree. The senses are assailed by the squalid and ghastly appearance of the famished pilgrims, many of whom die in the streets of want and disease; while the devotees, with clotted hair and painted flesh, are seen practising their various austerities, and modes of self-torture. Persons of both sexes, with little regard to concealment, sit down on the sands close to the town, in public view; and the SACRED BULLS walk about among them and eat the ordure."

"Juggernaut, 18th June, 1806.

"—— I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amid the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised such as I had never

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heard before. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned towards the place, and behold, a *grove* advancing. A body of men, having green branches or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them, and when they had come up to the throne they fell down before him that sat thereon and worshipped.

"The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car or tower about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Thousands of men, women, and children pulled by each cable, crowding so closely that some could only use one hand. Infants are made to exert their strength in this office, for it is accounted a merit of righteousness to move the god. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol surrounding his throne. I was told that there were about 120 persons upon the car. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour. Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging to their caparisons.

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"I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch, which, as it was drawn with difficulty, grated on its many wheels harsh thunder. After a few minutes it stopped; and now the worship of the god began. A high-priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas. 'These songs,' said he, 'are the delight of the god. His car can move only when he is pleased with the song.' The car moved on a little way and then stopped. A boy of twelve years was then brought forth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The child 'perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture that the god was pleased, and the multitude, emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along. After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition. But a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of Moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former. Now comes the blood.

"After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space

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clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god. He is said to smile when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed."

"Juggernaut, 20th June, 1806.

"—— The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case, but she died in a few hours. This morning, as I passed the place of skulls, nothing remained of her but her bones."

"Juggernaut, 21st June, 1806.

"The idolatrous processions continue, but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities, that I mean to hasten away. I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the place of skulls; — a woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said they had no home but where their mother was. O, there is no pity at Juggernaut!

"As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made. The natives themselves, when speaking of

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the numbers at particular festivals, usually say that a lack of people (100,000) would not be missed. I asked a Brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed. 'How can I tell,' said he, 'how many grains there are in a handful of sand?'

"The English nation will not expect to hear that the blood of Juggernaut is known at Calcutta; but alas, it is shed at the very doors of the English, almost under the eye of the supreme government. Moloch has many a tower in the province of Bengal; that fair and fertile province, which has been called 'The Garden of Nations.' Close to Ishera, a beautiful villa on the river's side, about eight miles from Calcutta, once the residence of Governor Hastings, and within view of the present Governor-general's country house, there is a temple of this idol which is often stained with human blood. At the festival of the Rut Jattra, in May, 1807, Dr. Buchanan visited it. One of the victims of that year was a well-made young man, of healthy appearance and comely aspect. He had a garland of flowers round his neck, and his long black hair was dishevelled. He danced for a while before the idol, singing in an enthusiastic strain, and then rushing suddenly to the wheels, he shed his blood under the tower of obscenity. The doctor was not on the spot at the time, his attention having been engaged by a more pleasing scene.

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"On the other side, on a rising ground by the side of a tank, stood the Christian missionaries, and around them a crowd of people listening to their preaching. The town of Serampore, where the Protestant missionaries reside, is only about a mile and a half from this temple of Juggernaut.

"Doctor Buchanan sat down on an elevated spot to contemplate this scene, — the tower of blood and impurity on the one hand, and the Christian preachers on the other. How is so great and glorious a ministry applauded by the holy angels, who 'have joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth;' and how far does it transcend the work of the warrior or statesman, in charity, utility, and lasting fame! The pious doctor could not help wishing that the representatives of the church of Christ in our own country had been present, to witness the scene, that they might have seen how practicable it is to offer Christian instruction to our Hindoo subjects."

The abominable observances (under the name of religion) of the Hindoos, recall to mind Milton's grand lines in the first book of "Paradise Lost," where he enumerates the false gods evoked by Satan in the infernal world:—

> "The chief were those, who, from the pit of hell
> Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix
> Their seats long after next the seat of God,
> Their altars by his altar, gods ador'd
> Among the nations round; and durst abide
> Jehovah thundering out of Sion, thron'd

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Between the cherubim: yea, often plac'd
Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations; and with cursed things
His holy rites and solemn feasts profan'd,
And with their darkness durst affront his light.
First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears;
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that pass'd through fire
To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worshipp'd in Rabba and her watery plain,
In Argob, and in Basan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon."

This idol is the prototype of the monster of modern Juggernaut.

A deficiency in the necessaries of life among the Hindoos at different periods is exemplified by evidence that cannot be controverted. The population, it appears, is often pressed down to the lowest means of subsistence, and the food of the country would be meted out to the major part of the people in the smallest shares that could support life. In such a state of things every failure in the crops from unfavourable seasons would be felt most severely; and India, as might be expected, has in all ages been subject to the most dreadful famines.

A part of the Ordinances of Menu is expressly dedicated to the consideration of times of distress, and instructions are given to the different classes respecting their conduct during these periods. Brahmins pining with hunger and want are frequently mentioned*; and certain ancient and vir-

* Sir William Jones's Works, c. iv. p. 165., c. x. p. 397.

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tuous characters are described, who had committed impure and unlawful acts, but who were considered by the legislator as justified, on account of the extremities to which they were reduced.

"Ajígarta, dying with hunger, was going to destroy his own son by selling him for some cattle; yet he was guilty of no crime, for he only sought a remedy against famishing.

"Vámadéva, who well knew right and wrong, was by no means rendered impure, though desirous, when oppressed by hunger, of eating the flesh of dogs.

"Viswámitra too, than whom none knew better the distinctions between virtue and vice, resolved, when he was perishing with hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, which he had received from a *Chaudála*."*

If these great and virtuous men of the highest class, whom all persons were under the obligation of assisting, could be reduced to such extremities, we may easily conjecture what must have been the sufferings of the lowest class.

Such passages clearly prove the existence of seasons of the most severe distress, at the early period when these ordinances were composed; and we have reason to think, that they have occurred at irregular intervals ever since. One of the Jesuits says, that it is impossible for him to describe the

* Sir William Jones's Works, vol. iii. c. x. p. 397, 398.

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misery, to which he was witness during the two years' famine in 1737 and 1738*; but the description which he gives of it, and of the mortality which it occasioned, is sufficiently dreadful without further detail. Another Jesuit, speaking more generally, says, "Every year we baptize a thousand children, whom their parents can no longer feed, or who, being likely to die, are sold to us by their mothers in order to get rid of them."†

Calamities of this kind do not now occur. Cultivation is better understood, and the liberty enjoyed creates foresight, which, by accumulating a certain amount of grain in storehouses, prevents the dreadful recurrence of famine and destruction of life. Commerce, also, is in better hands, and facility of communication more general. Thus, whatever deficiency in crops may occur in one place, is made up by superabundance in another, to be reciprocated on some future day. Attention is paid to new inventions in the implements of agriculture, and the breed of animals is wonderfully improved.

Whoever looks at India previously to the civilisation introduced in many parts by Great Britain, must perceive a striking contrast between its former and present state. We desire not to enter into any political disquisition, nor to insinuate that either a good or a bad policy has been adopted under one set of men or another. Our object is solely to trace the progress of civilisation, and to ascertain

* Lettres Edif. tom. xiv. p. 178. † Id., p. 284.

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what British influence has effected in India. Education is certainly spreading through that part of Hindoostan under our control. A native press (a luxury of novel description in the East) diffuses, through every rank of society, a knowledge of what occurs in the others. Information, moral, political, and social, is thereby obtained by every caste of natives.

Formerly, the upper Asiatic classes were in the habit of concealing their wealth, under an apprehension that the iron grasp of despotism would wrest it from them. Hence the mean and dirty appearance of their houses in Shikarpur and other Mahometan cities. Dingy brick walls were run up in front of their dwellings, to impress on whoever might view them an idea of poverty in the tenants. The first interior court corresponded with the outside; but, should any favoured and unsuspected individual be permitted to penetrate the dwelling, indications of comfort gradually appeared, till at length, on approaching the females' apartments, the utmost luxury and splendour burst on his gaze.

Such, we say, was formerly the case. But now that the natives, though heavily taxed, enjoy an equality of law, and security of person and property, the upper classes indulge their natural predilections, and openly surround themselves with a blaze of magnificence. They erect superb and spacious mansions, enclose parks, make plantations, and lay

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out pleasure-grounds and gardens, fragrant with rare and many-coloured flowers. At this moment there are thousands such in Bengal.

Hindoostan, till very recently, was cursed with a band of assassins, called Thugs, organised under specific regulations, originating in idolatrous superstition. The men who pursued this accursed calling were wholly devoted to it; they had no other business in life; their profession was hereditary, "and embraced, it is supposed, in every part of India, a body of at least ten thousand individuals, trained to murder from childhood; carrying it on in secret and in silence, yet glorying in it, and holding the practice of it to be a higher distinction than any earthly honour." * Though they did not disdain to plunder their victims, the act of murder, as is well known, was their chief object, and sprang from religious enthusiasm! It was difficult to elude their machinations. They never approached a house but to kill some of its inmates; they had every resource that skilful disguise could give them; and, like the advance of death itself, their agency was noiseless, inscrutable, inevitable. Each professor had passed a long noviciate in studying the art of destruction. That the fraternity should become consummate proficients in their dreadful calling, does not therefore appear wonderful.

At present, these monsters are being gradually

* For further information on this subject, see Dr. Sherwood's Treatise on Thuggee, and Mr. Sleeman's "Ramaseeana."

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exterminated by the increase of civilisation, fostered by information current among the people since their connexion with England. Travelling in Hindoostan is now nearly as secure as a journey from London to Birmingham.

The burning of women, another hideous vice arising from superstition, is discouraged; and the crime of infanticide, so common formerly in India, is yielding before the influence of information. The miserable castes of natives, at one time deemed infamous, are no longer regarded as such. A thousand prejudices are fast wearing away, and there is a fair prospect that, in no distant period, the elements of English civilisation will spread themselves over the inhabitants of the sometime ignorant and fanatical Oriental population.

Happily for us, it is not mere force that enables Britain to govern India; neither does she hold possession of that country from any affection excited by her in a population so utterly different from her own in manners, language, and religion. Her power originates in the benefits reaped by the natives of India from wise laws, and security of person and property.

If we turn our eyes to other portions of Asia, we find not merely unceasing warfare, but every species of injustice, oppression, and cruelty. Individuals are there doomed in castes for ever to one species of slavery, without the remotest chance of any change for themselves or their descendants.

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It would be unnecessary to enter into any details of the condition of the people under the sway of Turkey, that occupy part of Asia; but a slight sketch of the manner in which they are treated, and kept from the chance of emerging out of their present state, may not be irrelevant to the subject under consideration. Like other parts of the population, they are held in miserable slavery by force alone.

In the Asiatic parts of the Turkish dominions it will not be difficult, from the accounts of travellers, to trace the causes of its present decay; and as there is little difference in the manners of the Turks, whether they inhabit Europe or Asia, it will not be worth while to make them the subject of our present investigation.

The fundamental cause of the low state of population in Turkey, compared with its extent of territory, is undoubtedly the nature of the government. Its tyranny, its feebleness, its bad laws, and worse administration of them, with the consequent insecurity of property, throw such obstacles in the way of agriculture that the means of subsistence are necessarily decreasing yearly, and with them, of course, the number of people. The miri, or general land-tax paid to the sultan, is in itself moderate*; but by abuses inherent in the Turkish government, the pachas and their agents have found out the

* Voy. de Volney, tom. ii. c. xxxvii. p. 373. (8vo. 1787).

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means of rendering it ruinous. Though they cannot absolutely alter the impost which has been established by the sultan, they have introduced a multitude of changes, which, without the name, produce all the effects of an augmentation.* In Syria, according to Volney, having the greatest part of the land at their disposal, they clog their concessions with burdensome conditions, and exact the half, and sometimes even two-thirds of the crop. When the harvest is over, they cavil about losses, and as they have the power in their hands, they carry off what they think proper. If the season fail, they still exact the same sum, and expose every thing that the poor peasant possesses to sale. To these constant oppressions are added a thousand accidental extortions. Sometimes a whole village is laid under contribution for some real or imaginary offence. Arbitrary presents are exacted on the accession of each governor; grass, barley, and straw, are demanded for his horses; and commissions are multiplied, that the soldiers who carry the orders may live upon the starving peasants, whom they treat with the most brutal insolence and injustice.†

The consequence of these depredations is, that the poorer class of inhabitants, ruined, and unable any longer to pay the miri, become a bur-

* Voy. de Volney, tom ii. c. xxxvii. p. 373. (8vo. 1787).
† Id.

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den to the village, or fly into the cities; but the miri is unalterable, and the sum to be levied must be found somewhere. The portion of those who are thus driven from their homes falls on the remaining inhabitants, whose burden, though at first light, now becomes insupportable. If they should be visited by two years of drought and famine, the whole village is ruined and abandoned; and the tax which it should have paid is levied on the neighbouring lands.*

The same mode of proceeding takes place with regard to the tax on the Christians, which has been raised by these means from three, five, and eleven piastres, at which it was first fixed, to thirty-five and forty, which absolutely impoverishes those on whom it is levied, and obliges them to leave the country. It has been remarked that these exactions have made a rapid progress during the last forty years, from which time are dated the decline of agriculture, the depopulation of the country, and the diminution in the quantity of specie carried into Constantinople.†

The peasants are every where reduced to a little flat cake of barley or doura, onions, lentils, and water. Not to lose any part of their corn, they leave in it all sorts of wild grain, which often produce bad consequences. In the mountains of Lebanon and Nablous, in time of dearth, they gather

* Voy. de Volney, tom. ii. c. xxxvii. p. 375.

† Id. p. 376.

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the acorns from the oaks, which they eat after boiling or roasting them on the ashes.*

By a natural consequence of this misery, the art of cultivation is in the most deplorable state. The husbandman is almost without implements, and those he has are very bad. His plough is frequently no more than the branch of a tree cut below a fork, and used without wheels. The ground is tilled by asses and cows, rarely by oxen, which would bespeak too much riches. In the districts exposed to the Arabs, as in Palestine, the countryman must sow with his musket in his hand; and scarcely does the corn turn yellow before it is reaped and concealed in subtreraneous caverns. As little as possible is employed for seed-corn, because the peasants sow no more than is barely necessary for their subsistence. Their whole industry is limited to a supply of their immediate wants; and to procure a little bread, a few onions, a blue shirt, and a bit of woollen, much labour is not necessary. "The peasant lives therefore in distress; but at least he does not enrich his tyrants, and the avarice of despotism is its own punishment." †

This picture, which is drawn by Volney, in describing the state of the peasants in Syria, seems to be confirmed by all the other travellers in these countries; and, according to Eton, it represents very nearly the condition of the peasants in the

* Voy. de Volney, tom. ii. c. xxxvii. p. 377.
† Id. p. 379.

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greatest part of the Turkish dominions.* Universally, public offices of every denomination are set up to public sale; and in the intrigues of the seraglio, by which the disposal of all places is regulated, every thing is done by means of bribes. The pachas, in consequence, who are sent into the provinces, exert to the utmost their power of extortion; but are always outdone by the officers immediately below them, who, in their turn, leave room for their subordinate agents.†

The pacha must raise money to pay the tribute, and also to indemnify himself for the purchase of his office, support his dignity, and make a provision in case of accidents; and as all power, both military and civil, centres in his person from his representing the sultan, the means are at his discretion, and the quickest are invariably considered as the best.‡ Uncertain of to-morrow, he treats his province as a mere transient possession, and endeavours to reap, if possible, in one day, the fruit of many years, without the smallest regard to his successor, or the injury that he may do to the permanent revenue.§

The cultivator is necessarily more exposed to these exactions than the inhabitants of the towns. From the nature of his employment he is fixed to

* Eton's Turkish Emp., c. viii. 2d edit. 1799.
† Id. c. ii. p. 55.
‡ Voy. de Volney, tom. ii. c. xxxiii. p. 347.
§ Id. p. 350.

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one spot, and the productions of agriculture do not admit of being easily concealed. The tenure of the land and the right of succession are besides uncertain. When a father dies, the inheritance reverts to the sultan, and the children can only redeem the succession by a considerable sum of money. These considerations naturally occasion an indifference to landed estates. The country is deserted, and each person is desirous of flying to the towns, where he will not only in general meet with better treatment, but may hope to acquire a species of wealth which he can more easily conceal from the eyes of his rapacious masters.*

To complete the ruin of agriculture, a maximum is in many cases established, and the peasants are obliged to furnish the towns with corn at a fixed price. It is a maxim of Turkish policy, originating in the feebleness of the government and the fear of popular tumults, to keep the price of corn low in all the considerable towns. In case of a failure in the harvest, every person who possesses any corn is obliged to sell it at the price fixed, under pain of death; and if there be none in the neighbourhood, other districts are ransacked for it.† When Constantinople is in want of provisions, ten provinces are perhaps famished for a supply.‡ At Damascus, during the scarcity in 1784, the people paid only one penny farthing a pound for their bread, while

* Voy. de Volney, tom. ii. c. xxxvi. p. 369.

† Id. c. xxxviii. p. 38. ‡ Id. c. xxxiii. p. 345.

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the peasants in the villages were absolutely dying with hunger.*

The effect of such a system of government on agriculture need not be insisted upon. The causes of the decreasing means of subsistence are but too obvious; the checks which keep the population down to the level of these decreasing resources may be traced with nearly equal certainty; and will appear to include almost every species of vice and misery that is known.

It is observed in general that the Christian families consist of a greater number of children than the Mahometan families, where polygamy prevails.† This is an extraordinary fact; because though polygamy, from the unequal distribution of women which it occasions, be naturally unfavourable to the population of a whole country; yet the individuals who are able to support a plurality of wives ought certainly in the natural course of things to have a greater number of children than those who are confined to one. The five principal causes of depopulation enumerated by Mr. Eton, are,

1. The plague, from which the empire is never entirely free.

2. Those terrible disorders which almost always follow it, at least in Asia.

* Voy. de Volney, tom. ii. c. xxxviii. p. 381

† Eton's Turkish Emp., c. vii. p. 275.

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3. Epidemic and endemic maladies in Asia, which make as dreadful ravages as the plague itself, and which frequently visit that part of the empire.

4. Famine.

5. And lastly, the sicknesses which always follow a famine, and which occasion a much greater mortality.*

He afterwards gives a more particular account of the devastations of the plague in different parts of the empire, and concludes by observing, that if the number of Mahometans have decreased, this cause alone is adequate to the effect†; and that, things going on in their present train, the Turkish population will be extinct in another century.‡ But this inference, and the calculations which relate to it, are without doubt erroneous. The increase of population in the intervals of these periods of mortality is probably greater than he is aware of. At the same time it must be remarked, that in a country where the industry of the husbandman is confined to the supply of his necessary wants, where he sows only to prevent himself from starving, and is unable to accumulate any surplus produce, a great loss of people is not easily recovered, as the natural effects from diminished numbers cannot be felt in the same degree as in countries where industry prevails, and property is secure.

* Eton's Turkish Empire, ch. vii. p. 264.
† Id. p. 291. ‡ Id. p. 280.

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According to the Persian legislator Zoroaster, to plant a tree, to cultivate a field, to have a family, are the great duties of man. This philosopher, like all who have either preceded or followed him, unenlightened by Christianity, has omitted the social duties of man towards his fellow creature. Hence the despotism, want of moral principle, and all those evils which, nearly since the deluge, have peopled this fine quarter of the globe with a race of beings degraded by ignorance and gross superstition, ground to the earth by oppression and want, subject to inflictions of famine and pestilence, and both in their minds and bodies kept in the lowest state of human degradation.

Perhaps no part of the world more strongly exemplifies our theory, that no civilisation can exist unless the elements mentioned in the early part of this work are found in the community.

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CHAPTER II.

AMERICA.

Difference between the Northern and Southern Part of this Hemisphere in Improvement.—Great Progress of North America.—Account of the first Settlement of the United States in New England.—A Middle Class formed at once from Agriculture alone, which could not take place in the Old World.—Great Facility of Communication in the United States.—Very extensive Middle Class.—Jealousy of Wealth and Talent.—Public Men not usually the best informed Persons.—The Acquirement of Wealth sought by the most intelligent Men.—The Press *not* influential in America.—Reckless Spirit of Gain.—Parallel between Civilisation in France and the United States of America.

THE extraordinary difference in the advance of civilisation in the northern and southern parts of the American continent, cannot but appear remarkable to the slightest observer of the progress of society. When Europeans first landed on the shores of America and of the adjacent islands between the tropics, they imagined themselves transported into regions described only in poetry and romance, of which they had formed no idea. Wherever they cast their eyes, novel scenes presented themselves, unknown in their former hemisphere. When they looked up to heaven, they

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saw stars never before perceived by them, ~~sp~~es of ling with peculiar brilliancy: the constellations they had in their childhood observed vanished from their sight, and their imagination had to form fresh ones in the, to them, novel sky of the new world. When they looked below, they perceived the blue waters of ocean, which not only sparkled in the darkness with phosphoric light, but during day their extraordinary transparency discovered to the view of the delighted navigator, as the ship seemed to float in air, all that had hitherto been hidden in the deep abyss. He became giddy as his eye penetrated through the crystal flood, and beheld submarine gardens, or gilded fish gliding among thickets of coral and marine vegetation. Here and there, he descried islands perfumed with odoriferous plants, like baskets of flowers floating on the tranquil surface of the ocean.

Every object that met his eye in this enchanting region appeared likely to satisfy his wants or contribute to his gratification. Trees loaded with delicious, but unknown fruits, tempted his appetite, while those not producing sustenance delighted the other senses by their fragrance, or by the brilliancy and variety of their colours. In groves of lemon trees, wild figs, myrtles, acacias, or oleanders, in which various climbing plants hung in festoons covered with flowers, a multitude of birds, unknown in Europe, displayed their

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plumage, glittering with purple and azure, and mingled their sweet notes in harmony with a world teeming with life, motion, and enjoyment. The intoxication of tepid air had such an enervating influence, that man, completely absorbed in the pleasurable sensation and enjoyment of the hour, thought not of the future. His activity declined into torpor under this brilliant exterior, and rendered him careless of future wants. Sloth, indolence, and languor, took place of activity, industry, and mental exertion.

In North America, the scene to the natives of the old world presented a strong contrast. Every thing looked grave, serious, and solemn. It seemed formed as the domain of intelligence, as the South was of sensual delight. A turbulent and foggy ocean lashed its shores. The firs, larches, and evergreen oaks burdened the air with a dark and gloomy foliage. Beyond this belt, lay the thick shades of central forests. Here man was obliged to labour for his support; to clear woods, to till the earth, and to procure that food, which in the more southern regions offered itself spontaneously. It often happens, where nature does the least, man will do the most. Facility of communication afforded by estuaries and rivers, the patient and laborious character of the British settlers, but above all, moral principle placed on a firm foundation, appear to have been the main cause of that prodigious advance in civilisation which has taken place

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in the northern parts of the United States of America, leaving the other nations in that hemisphere, and even the southern part of their own federal union, where slavery is still predominant, far behind.

At the time of the first immigration of English settlers, the division of the country into parishes, that fruitful germ of civilisation, was deeply rooted in the people. "The character of the inhabitants of the mother country was sedate and reflecting. General information was increased by intellectual debate, and the minds of the settlers had received the elements of civilisation. Whilst religion was the topic of discussion in the mother country, the morals of the people were reformed with the Reformation. All the British colonies seemed destined from their beginning to witness the growth of liberty, and of the freedom of the middle and lower orders, of which the history of the world had as yet furnished no complete example." *

With every respect for the author of these remarks, we must entirely differ from him as to the cause of the prosperity of the United States. In our opinion, it arose from a diffusion through the community of the elements of civilisation, and the growth of the middle classes, arising from the causes already mentioned. In the northern states, civilisation

* Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 22.

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fast increased, "like a beacon-fire on a hill, which, after diffusing its heat around, tinges the distant horizon with its glow."

The writer on democracy in America observes, "Slavery dishonours labour; it introduces idleness into society, and, with idleness, ignorance and pride, luxury and distress. It enervates the powers of the mind, and benumbs the activity of man. The influence of slavery, united to the English character, explains the manners and the social condition of the southern states. Where slavery is allowed to exist, the entire influence of the elements for civilisation cannot be fully developed in the community."

A puritan writer of the time * gives a curious account of early English colonisation in America. "The emigrants were about one hundred and fifty in number, including women and children. On leaving their native land, the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away, they were loth to depart. Their reverend pastor, falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks, commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord and his blessings; and then with mutual embraces and many tears they took their leave of their friends, which proved the last leave to many of them."

After being driven about for some time on the

* Nathaniel Morton's History of the Settlement of North America.

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Atlantic Ocean, they were forced to land on the arid coast of New England, now the site of the town of Plymouth. The rock is still shown on which the pilgrims disembarked.

"Before we pass on," continues Morton, "let the reader, with me, make a pause, and consider this poor people's present condition, the more to be raised up to admiration of God's goodness towards them in their preservation. For having now passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before them in expectation, they had now no friends to welcome them, no inns to refresh them, no houses, much less towns, to repair unto to seek for succour; and for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of the country, know them to be sharp and violent, subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown coasts. Besides that, they could see a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men. Which way soever they turned their eyes (save towards heaven), they could have little solace or content in respect to any outward object."

This touching narrative is given to show the hardships undergone by the first settlers in the new world, and the spirit of resignation and religion, though tinged with puritanism, by which they were actuated, enabling them not only to overcome by industry all the obstacles before

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them, but to advance in civilisation with a rapidity hitherto unexampled in the history of the world.

When the conquerors in our hemisphere subjugated nations, seized on their territorial possessions, and made the natives either slaves or vassals, they felt apprehensive for many subsequent centuries of being subjugated, in their turn, by some other conqueror,—of losing by violence those possessions acquired by violence and the right of the strongest. Hence the feudal system, and love of war which characterised the ancient chief or feudal baron. Hence an upper and a lower class only, and the slow progress of all the elements for civilisation.

But in the United States the situation of the colonists was different in every respect. They brought with them the stern and severe principles of the Reformation, rendered probably too stringent by a strong spirit of puritanism, yet answering, at the time, their purpose. They found themselves driven to depend chiefly on their own exertions; an abundance of land was ready at their command; the spade and the plough were never used in vain. Hence arose, as if by magic, a class equivalent to what, in England, is styled a middle class, great in number but not of individual wealth: hence, too, arose those republican principles, carried perhaps too far, as occasionally sacri-

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ficing public opinion to popular clamour; and that federal union of a great nation, hitherto an anomaly in the history of mankind.

This confirms our theory, that the form of government and its tendency depends, in a great measure, if not entirely, on the predominance of what has been defined to be a middle class. If the territory now forming the United States had been acquired in the same manner that William of Normandy gained England, there cannot be a doubt that when the property in the soil had been assigned in a mode similar to that adopted by the Conqueror, the result would have been the same as took place in England. It may be asked why this effect did not accrue when Cortes conquered Mexico, and Pizarro Peru? Those conquerors, let it be remembered, were subjects of the mother country, by whom they could at any time be dispossessed; but in other respects the same results *did* follow, with the exception of the feudal system. The natives became the lower, and the Spaniards the superior class. When North America was first settled by colonists from Great Britain, they found an immense tract of productive soil, a climate in some parts propitious for cultivation, navigable rivers, estuaries, and good harbours. Almost every energetic individual became the possessor of a certain portion of land, which he brought into cultivation: his children, if endowed with the same habits, could obtain similar advantages; and thus, in an incredibly short time,

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a powerful middle class was formed by agriculture alone. Facility of communication was obtained from the rivers and the sea-coast: the other requisites for the formation of public opinion grew together into some degree of maturity, and little more than *half a century* only has elapsed since public opinion in those states was enabled to raise the entire community against the mother country, and finally to obtain independence.

A middle class rising so suddenly without the aid of commerce or manufactures, in Europe, would have been an anomaly. Such a state of affairs could not take place for ages in a nation where the feudal system was prevalent, and in which no facility of communication was found.

In the United States, however, colonies were formed, consisting of settlers acquainted with the civilisation of the country they had left, who found an immense territory, unoccupied, within their grasp, who transplanted into those vast wildernesses improvements in agriculture, social life, and moral principle — qualities in which the former conquerors of Europe were totally deficient.

The immense territory now claimed by the United States, as every one knows, is far from being fully peopled; land may still be obtained in many places with great facility, and industrious individuals of the lower order, who, from a demand for labour, will readily find employment, may raise themselves to the middle class. The natural advantages which

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the first colonists found of so great benefit, are possessed by the present generation, and their value is increased by the well-applied industry of many years, while the Americans still retain the spirit of activity and enterprise remarkable in their ancestors. New towns spring up in the wildernesses with marvellous celerity.* Facility of conveyance by water, which was obtained before roads were formed, is now considerably improved by steamboats; and land carriage is made rapid by railways which traverse the desolate prairies. By home trade and exports, the general capital, which was first created by agriculture, has been greatly increased. Under these circumstances the middle class must augment.

But there is another circumstance in the increase of this powerful people, to which attention must be directed. Whatever capital may be realised in the United States, will, in all probability, be chiefly turned to the purposes of agriculture†—the clearing of lands in the interior,

* "Here am I, sitting in one of half a dozen excellent hotels, with iced lemonade, as well as the whitest spermaceti candles before me, and in a town of 9000 inhabitants, a Birmingham in miniature, where seventeen years ago not one single tree had been felled by the axe.— *Tour through the United States, by a British Subject*, London, 1828.

† "This port (Philadelphia) is evidently sinking daily in commercial importance, which arises, perhaps, not only from the long and dangerous navigation of its river, and the proximity of New York, but from the minds of the population turning

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and formation of new settlements. From this cause the capital so employed will make a more profitable return; and, as an agricultural and pastoral people can always obtain the luxuries or necessaries they may require, by the exchange of their own produce, it seems not likely that, for a series of years, the Americans will be a great manufacturing nation. The individual who has capital will find it more profitable to obtain a good return by advancing it on the security of land to be brought into cultivation, or in buildings which are to be occupied by fresh and vigorous settlers, or by promoting facility of communication, than by embarking in the establishment of a manufacturing concern, with a difficulty to obtain competent hands, and a certainty of having to contend in the market against the capital and the improvements in machinery now to be found in Europe, particularly in England, where capital is great, and machinery more in advance than in America, from the redundancy of population in the Old World. The United States, if no convulsion disturb their present condition, will, it is probable, continue steadily to augment in wealth, population, and power, and consequently public opinion, already so strong, will not lose ground.

The United States are, perhaps, the only country in the world, possessing such an extensive middle

with more pleasure towards agriculture, coal mines, and manufactures, than the dangers and discomforts of a seafaring life."

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class, in which are to be found so few learned, and so few ignorant persons. This is probably the result of a condition of society, where each individual is possessed of a small independence, not probably enough to enable him to live according to his ideas without industry, but sufficient to afford him a certain degree of mental cultivation.

To entertain a jealousy of the wealthy is one of the effects of democracy; and the middle class maintains its power with unceasing vigilance. Men of talent in America do not always aspire to legislative honours; but prefer the quiet of "learned leisure" to the turmoil of the senate. An American writer observes, "that the men best qualified to fill places of trust in public affairs might have too much reserve of manner and too much severity of principle, to enable them successfully to unite a majority of votes, if their election depended on universal suffrage."*

Another writer on America has the following remark: —

"On my arrival in the United States, I was much surprised by making a singular discovery; namely, how much talent and information was general in that part of the community not connected with the legislature, and how rare these qualities were in those who constituted the Government, the Senate, and the House of Assembly. It is a remarkable fact, that men most distinguished for ability are

* Kent's Comm., vol. i. p. 272.

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seldom called on to fill public situations; and we must admit that such is usually the case where the government is purely democratic. It is evident that the public men of the United States have singularly fallen off within the last century.

"Wherever elections are annual, men can only arrive at the management of public affairs by chance. They have no certainty of a continuance of office. In the United States, it is only men of moderate talents, and of moderate desires, who attempt to follow a political career. Men possessed of high faculties, and of great ambition, avoid, in general, the path to power, and endeavour to pursue the road to riches; and it often happens that individuals will only attempt to guide the vessel of state when they find themselves not competent to direct their own affairs."*

Such are the opinions of a very able and intelligent individual (whom the writer has the pleasure to call his friend), who has written one of the best works extant on America. Singular as his last assertion seems, it may be thus explained. Americans of talent and activity are generally occupied in pursuits of trade and commerce, and feel no disposition to devote their valuable time to the national service. Every thing in America is estimated in a mercantile spirit, and therefore it is natural to suppose that energetic individuals will follow that

* Tocqueville on Democracy in America.

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course which promises to be most lucrative. This must always happen where those who, in England, would be styled the middle class, form the bulk of the community. With us, men of large fortune can afford to engage in politics as a pastime. Americans, for the most part, must derive the means of subsistence from whatever occupies them, and they therefore elect that from which the largest amount of money can be derived. Among those who follow politics, the legal class are most prominent.

The author above quoted, adds, "In the United States there is no aristocracy, very few literary men, and the mass of the citizens are extremely jealous of the influence of the few rich men who may be amongst them. The lawyers, therefore, constitute the political class; the persons who compose this profession could gain nothing by innovations in the state. This gives an inclination for conservative principles, in addition to that feeling, general among men of legal education, for preserving order and obedience to the laws. If I was asked to point out the leading party in the state, I should, without hesitation, declare that it is not to be found, as in other countries, among those who are richest, for such men in America are not united by any common bond. The aristocracy of the United States are seated on the benches of the counsel, and in the judicial chairs."

All officers in the public service holding subor-

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dinate situations, are highly paid. On the contrary, the leading functionaries are remunerated much below the standard in other countries. In a democracy, where the people govern, and select the individuals who compose the legislature, few can expect to attain the highest offices in the state, and the salary is fixed at a low rate. In an aristocratical government, or an oligarchy, many may expect to succeed to them, and there is an inclination to give a high salary for public services. This assertion may be proved by the following Table of Salaries. *

* Treasury Department.

France.	Francs.	United States.	Francs.
L'Huissier (messenger)	1,500	Messenger	3,734
Commiss. (lowest)	1,800	Clerk of Committee (lowest)	5,420
Ditto, highest salary	3,800	Ditto, highest salary	8,672
Chief Clerk	20,000	Chief Clerk	10,840
King, head of the State	12,000,000	Secretary of State	32,320
		President	35,000

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CHAPTER III.

AMERICA.

Unusual Number of public Prints in the United States. — The Number of Public Journals lessens their Influence. — Superiority of the Northern States over the Southern, where Slaves are tolerated.

THE influence of the press generally diminishes in proportion as the number of papers and public prints increases. The power of the press, for political purposes, is usually in the inverse ratio of extension, unless some great question intimately connected with public opinion should arise; then the extension of the press adds to its power.

The number of periodical publications in the United States exceeds belief. The best-informed Americans, in attributing to this extraordinary extension the little influence possessed by this press, confirm the above observation. In fact, it is an axiom in Transatlantic politics, that the most powerful means of neutralising the effect of public journals is to multiply their number. "It is only a matter of surprise to me," observes a recent author, "that so self-evident a fact should not be better known in France. There is scarcely a

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petty town in America that has not its newspaper. It is quite evident, that in so large a number of opinions, there can be no unity." This subdivision of the press produces also another effect no less remarkable. The formation of a periodical paper is, in America, a very easy matter. It may be attempted almost by any one. The vast number must diminish profits. The result is, that high intellectual power will not contribute to such journals. The spirit of American editors is generally manifested by abuse of each other in the grossest manner; regardless of political principles, they seize on individuals, and drag their follies and vices into the glare of day.

The observant author before quoted makes the following very just remarks, which bear out our assertion:—"Religion directs the manners of the community, and, in regulating domestic life, regulates the affairs of the State, and thus has a great influence in the formation of public opinion. Although there is not in the United States what may be called an established church, and although the utmost freedom of religious belief is allowed, it is found that Christianity is indispensable to the permanence even of republican institutions. There are innumerable sects in the United States: each differs from the other in the form of worship rendered to the Creator; but all accord in the duty of man towards man. Americans identify their liberty with Christianity; and it is impossible

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to make them understand that one can exist without the other." *

The advantage of harbours in the northern states has a strong tendency to promote their wealth and prosperity. Besides the natural resources which have given a superiority to those states, they are especially favoured by the legislature, to the no small discontent of those of the South, as appears from the remonstrance made by the inhabitants of Carolina. "The tariff regulations," they say, "promote the welfare of the northern part of the Union, and are most detrimental to the southern states. If this was not the case, how can it be imagined that the northern states, with their cold climate and ungrateful soil, should increase daily in wealth and importance, whilst the southern states, which are in fact the garden of America, decrease rapidly, both in their trade and commerce." † The prosperity of the northern states has enabled them to follow the dictates of reason, justice, and humanity, and to abolish slavery. In the southern states, where slavery is allowed, the increase of wealth and of population is in a very inferior proportion. The result is, that in the House of Assembly the northern states have a decided preponderance.

In the United States of North America, if the people of colour are excluded, there are in fact

* Tocqueville's America.

† South Carolina — Report to the Convention, 1832.

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only two great divisions, resembling what in England are called middle and lower classes; and between these classes there is no strong line or difference, although a sort of fashion may be adopted, by which a distinction arises, much in the same manner as fashion in France may cause an apparent distinction between the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Germain and the persons who have made, or are making, a fortune by trade or commerce. This state of things exists in the northern states and in the north-western part of the Union. In the southern states, where slaves exist, society is rather differently constituted. Very few persons in these states live as their fathers lived, by cultivating the soil only, without endeavouring to improve their condition in other respects. They are now all seized with the desire of elevating themselves. Every man of education and of some property, gives up his time and attention, either to the cultivation of land, to manufacturing and commercial pursuits, to the learned professions, or to divinity; few remain idle; but there are not a sufficient number of persons of wealth to constitute what we have defined as an upper class.

It has been remarked in the Introduction to this work, that nations are better acquainted with each other at present than neighbouring cities were in former times.* If this sort of assimilation extends

* "I am much pleased at observing the kindly feelings towards the mother country, which are now very generally pre-

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between two people at a distance from each other, and speaking a different language, how much greater will it become between those having common ancestors, and using the same tongue? The time will probably arrive, when one hundred and fifty millions or more of souls will cover the territory of the United States, affording to the world the singular spectacle of an immense community, emanating from the same origin, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, having the same manners, and an equal degree of civilisation. *

To Great Britain will appertain the honour of producing a population that may, in the course of centuries, spread her language, her civilisation — moral and religious principles, and public opinion, over half the surface of the New World!

Facility of intercourse is a great bond of the Union of the States in America, and *insures* the increase of civilisation, for which the position of the northern part of the Union is most favourable. Steam-boats ply in every river, and railroads are made and

valent, and the liberal sentiments of almost all I meet. It is plain they are no longer afraid of our attempting the hopeless task of reconquering them; and, therefore, refrain from implanting ridiculous prejudices and untruths in the minds of their children; and the last war, by showing clearly the value of the commercial intercourse between the two nations, the difficulty of their acquiring the Canadas, and our ability to harass their coasts, has likewise materially tended towards a perfect reconciliation." — *Tour through the United States, by a British Subject*, p. 17. 8vo. 1828.

* Démocratie en Amérique; vol. ii. p. 215.

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being made in all places, at a trifling expense, where the nature of the ground will admit. To this facility must be added, the restless spirit for gain that pervades the population. An American, either for positive profit, or chance of gain, will pass over great parts of the Union. Even the most remote village has its numerous visitors. In every possible manner is facility of communication created in the United States, and the result on the civilisation and improvement of the community is apparent. Swarms of persons from the northern part of the Union emigrate to the south, and scarcely a square mile of that immense region is unexplored by the adventurous!*

At the same time, although this facility of intercourse and spread of information seem to unite the entire population of the Union into one people, it must not be forgotten how much public opinion may be directed and influenced by local sentiments, and even by interested motives. If in 1789 the constitution of the United States had not been promulgated, every thing would have fallen into chaos: ever since that period, America has prospered, more even than her most sanguine admirers could have ventured to predict; and it is a fact worthy of notice, that as her prosperity has increased, the strength of the supreme government has gradually decreased. In every difference of sentiment that has arisen

* Démocratie en Amérique, vol. ii. p. 220.

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between the central government and the local states, the central government has usually given way. For example, by the constitution, the central Legislature had the right to direct internal improvements in the state to be carried into effect; canals, for instance. At this exercise of power, the several states and the democratic party were roused — refused their concurrence, and forced the central government to yield, and to give up in future every similar attempt. In the letter of the President of the United States to the Cherokees, his correspondence with the agents, and his messages to Congress, it appears that the federal government gave up without a struggle the dominion over these Indians, and handed them over to the legislature of the adjoining state. In 1833, this principle was admitted by the central government in consequence of the violence of the states adjoining that territory towards the west, not included in any state. It was proposed that these lands should be sold, and the profits applied by the central government to the wants of the treasury; but this was at length given up, and the states adjoining the waste land have claimed and received the profit of the sales.

After a careful consideration of the present state of parties in America, it is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion, than that, in proportion as civilisation and population spread over the land, the power of the central government diminishes, and that of public opinion increases. Although the

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power of the federal government may lessen, yet, as public opinion will increase, it seems not likely that for many years any chance of dissolution can occur. The love of liberty, of their present form of government, and of their country, is so strongly implanted in the minds of the community, and so powerfully supported by the general voice, that the Union will continue to increase and prosper, although its central government may become weaker.

In these observations on the state of public opinion in America, it must at the same time be admitted, that, from the majority having the entire power in their hands, popular clamour may sometimes both check and control public opinion, and thereby the community may be, not directed, but forced, in a manner not in accordance with the latter sentiment, and injurious to the welfare of the nation.

This preponderating democratic sentiment certainly exercises very considerable influence on the acts of the legislature, and of the executive government, in the United States. In some respects it throws a blemish over those good qualities that must necessarily be found in a community so far advanced in civilisation. The great fault is, that the right of voting is too far extended; the lower class by their numbers can cope with the middle class, although the latter are certainly very extensive, and daily increasing.

An admirable writer of the day*, when alluding

* American Notes for General Circulation, by Chas. Dickens.

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to the American character, observes, "They are by nature frank, brave, cordial, and hospitable; cultivation and refinement seem but to enhance their warmth of heart and ardent enthusiasm; and it is the possession of these latter qualities in a most remarkable degree which renders an educated American one of the most endearing and most generous of friends. I never was so won upon as by this class; never yielded up my full confidence and esteem so readily and pleasantly as to them; never can make again, in half a year, so many friends for whom I seem to entertain the regard of half a life.

"These qualities are natural to the whole people: that they are, however, sadly sapped and blighted in their growth amongst the mass; and that there are influences at work which endanger them still more, and give but little present promise of their healthy restoration, is a truth that ought to be told.

"It is an essential part of every national character to pique itself mightily upon its faults, and to deduce tokens of its virtue or its wisdom from their very exaggeration. One great blemish in the popular mind of America, and the prolific parent of an innumerable brood of evils is, universal distrust; yet the American citizen plumes himself upon this spirit, even when he is sufficiently dispassionate to perceive the ruin it works; he will often adduce it, in spite of his own reason, as an instance of the great sagacity and acuteness of the people, and their superior shrewdness and independence. 'You

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carry,' says the stranger, 'this jealousy and distrust into every transaction of public life. By repelling worthy men from your legislative assemblies, you have held up a class of candidates for the suffrage, who, in their every act, disgrace your institutions and your people's choice. This has rendered you so fickle, and so given to change, that your inconsistency has passed into a proverb; for you no sooner set up an idol firmly, than you are sure to pull it down and dash it into fragments; and this, because, directly you reward a benefactor, or a public servant, you distrust him, merely because he *is* rewarded, and immediately apply yourselves to find out, either that you have been too bountiful in your acknowledgments, or he remiss in his deserts. Any man who attains a high place among you, from the President downwards, may date his downfall from that moment; for any printed lie that any notorious villain pens, although it militate directly against the character and conduct of a life, appeals at once to your distrust, and is believed. You will strain at a gnat in the way of trustfulness and confidence, however fairly won and well deserved; but you will swallow a whole caravan of camels if they be laden with unworthy doubts and mean suspicions.'"

Let us for a moment compare the influence of public opinion in America with the influence of that sentiment in France. For this purpose we must ascertain the power and influence of the

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sovereign of that country, with that of the President of the United States of America. * In the comparison little notice need be taken of the external signs of power, which are more apt to deceive the eye of the observer than to guide his inquiry. When a monarchy is gradually being transformed into a republic, the executive power retains the titles, the honour, the etiquette, and even the revenue of royalty long after its authority has disappeared. On the other hand, when, in former days, republics fell under the sway of one man, the demeanour of the sovereign was simple, familiar, and unpretending. When the Roman emperors exercised an unlimited control over the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens, they were called Cæsar in conversation, and were in the habit of supping without formality at their friends' houses. Napoleon in the plenitude of his power was most familiar with his courtiers. It may be necessary, therefore, to look below the surface, and not to decide by external appearances.

In the United States, the executive power is limited as the sovereignty of the Union in whose name it acts; in France, it is as universal as the authority of the state. In America it is a federal, in France, a national government. The King of France has the power of refusing his assent, as one of the constituent branches of the legislature; he has the privilege of naming the members

* Kent's Comm., vol. i. p. 176.

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of one Chamber, and of dissolving the other at pleasure, whereas, the President of the United States has no share in the formation of the Senate, and cannot dissolve Congress. The King of France has the right of bringing forward measures in the Chambers, a right not possessed by the President. The former is represented in each assembly by his ministers, who explain his intentions, support his opinions, and maintain the principles of the government. The President and his ministers are alike excluded from the Congress, so that his influence and his opinions can only penetrate indirectly into that great body. The King of France, therefore, is on an equal footing with the legislature, which can no more act without *him* than *he* can without them. The President exercises an authority inferior to, and depending on, that of the legislature. Even in the exercise of an executive power, properly so called, the President labours under several causes of inferiority. The authority of the King in France has, in the first place, the advantage of duration over that of the President, and durability is one of the chief ingredients of strength. That which is not likely to endure, is neither loved nor feared. The President is a magistrate elected for four years; the monarchy of France has been, by the national voice, declared hereditary. In the exercise of the executive power, the President is constantly subject to a jealous scrutiny by his opponents. He may make, but he

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cannot conclude, a treaty; he may designate, but he cannot appoint, a public officer*: the King of France is uncontrolled in the sphere of the executive power. The President is responsible for his actions; but the sovereign of the French is declared inviolable by the French Charter.

These distinctions in the executive between France and the United States, have been drawn to show the influence of public opinion in both nations. This sentiment appears less defined, less evident, and less sanctioned by the laws in France than in America, as the executive is more powerful in the former than in the latter country. Nevertheless, public opinion is equally influential in both. The fundamental principle of legislation, a principle essentially depending on public opinion, is the same in both countries, notwithstanding the greater strength of the executive in France.†

Although this disparity exists between the executive power in one country and in the other, civilisa-

* The constitution of the United States leaves it doubtful whether the President is obliged to consult the senate in removing as well as appointing to federal official situations. In 1789, the Congress decided that the President, being responsible for his actions, ought not to be forced to employ agents who had forfeited his esteem. — *Kent's Commentary*, vol. i. p. 289.

† In France the number of public functionaries is 138,000, with an expense of 200 millions of francs. In the United States their whole number is 12,000, not in the exclusive nomination of the President." — *American National Calendar*, 1833.

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tion is nearly the same in both. In the United States, the influence of public opinion is discernible at the elections of the Congress; in France, it manifests itself when the monarch attempts to act against the public sentiment, as appeared in the events of 1830.

Let us hope, for the happiness of mankind, the dignity of human nature, and also for the preservation of peace in the other hemisphere, that the bond which preserves the union of the States of North America may continue for ages. The quick extension of the principles and elements of civilisation, which have been nearly twenty centuries in gaining strength in our hemisphere, will spread more rapidly in the other. That mighty continent will then indeed afford to Europe an example which throws into the shade the conduct of our ancestors here. The immense territory and population of North America may form one large united family. How different such a state from that which for the last thousand years has agitated and desolated the old world!

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MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTERS.

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CHAPTER I.

PREVALENCE OF WARS IN FORMER TIMES.

Civilisation retarded by War. — The Crusades. — Continental Wars in Europe. — Contests between France and England. — Fierceness of Human Nature. — Calculation by Mr. Burke of the immense Destruction of Human Beings by War. — Millions reduced to Slavery. — War more advantageous in ancient than in modern Times. — Pecuniary Ruin attendant on War.

In our inquiries as to the extent of civilisation in several parts of the world, it may not be irrelevant to take a concise survey of the destruction of the human species by each other, not only in the benighted and barbarous times of old, but in the middle ages, and even in later days: to consider not alone the terrific waste of man's life by the sword, but by the hardships of war, and by the other results, famine and pestilence.

This fearful agency has been in operation almost from the creation of the world to the present time, amongst all nations, and in all varieties of climate; wherever, in short, the elements for civilisation have been unknown. To this continued warfare may be attributed, in some degree, the non-appearance of civilisation for so many centuries. How degrading is the reflection that, in a state of barbarism, men should have destroyed each other

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with greater ferocity and thirst of blood than any other animals in the creation!

"How far nature would have carried us," says Burke, speaking of war, "we may judge from the example of those animals that still follow her laws, and even of those to whom she has given dispositions more fierce, and arms more terrible, than ever she intended we should use. It is a fact, that more havoc is made by men of men in one year, than has been made by lions, tigers, panthers, wolves, and all other beasts of prey upon their several species since the beginning of the world, though these agree ill enough with each other, and have a much greater proportion of rage and fury in their composition than we have. But with respect to you, ye arbitrary and ambitious potentates, with respect to you be it spoken, you have done more mischief in cold blood, than all the rage of the fiercest animals, in their greatest terrors or furies, have ever done or ever could do to each other."*

Two tribes of savages, ignorant of tillage, in a barren island or confined space, may find it impossible to subsist together. The weakest, consequently, is destroyed. Where populations have increased, we learn that in ancient days they poured down in resistless numbers on less powerful tribes, and destroyed, plundered, and laid waste all

* Burke's View of Society, vol. i.

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that was within their reach. Such were the Asiatic wars, those of Rome against Carthage *, and various conquests, in which the entire wealth of the conquered populations was seized, and their persons reduced to slavery.

Looking over the annals of Europe for the last ten centuries, what a system of spoliation, warfare, and horror do they exhibit! The fierce and ignorant masses that poured from the West into the East, led by superstition and desire of conquest, must, in the various Crusades, have caused much misery to friends and foes; but the Crusaders themselves probably suffered equal, if not greater hardships and privations than those whom they attacked. Audaciously carrying the banner of Him who came to announce "Peace on earth and good-will towards men," half a million of human beings, without order or discipline, supply of food, or means of purchasing provisions, traversed the greater part of Europe, and descended, like a swarm of locusts, on regions where they found enemies rendered wild by fear of conquest and mad by superstition. This assuredly was not the way to spread the glad tidings of redemption among nations.

As remarked in the early pages of this work, nearly the last territorial conquest, in western Europe, was that of this island by William of Normandy. Eight centuries have passed over the

* Delenda est Carthago.

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world since that event; and what a destruction of human life has taken place in the Continental wars in Europe!—what a neglect of industry, of commerce!—in short, what a check to the growth of civilisation has occurred, without the least concomitant advantage arising to the parties by whom it was carried on!—what a picture does this present of morality—what a tardy advance in civilisation! How gloomy the retrospect, how degrading to the wisdom, foresight, and prudence of mankind! Well and truly has one of our writers observed*, "Man, like a beast of prey, will destroy his fellow man for his own purpose." The most singular result, however, is that, except in those contests which have taken place between nations for some commercial advantage, much greater loss and expense has been incurred by each belligerent party, than could possibly be counterbalanced by any advantage gained over their opponents.

Can any one reflect, without regret, on the wretchedness occasioned by the contests between France and England within the last six hundred years, and not perceive the check thereby given to improvement and civilisation? Even one of the main promoters of hostilities which were unavoidable, thus expresses himself on the subject: —

"France and Britain," said Mr. Pitt, "by their past conduct, acted as if they were intended for the

* Dr. Samuel Johnson.

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destruction of each other; but I hope the time is now come when they shall justify the order of the universe, and show themselves better calculated for the more amiable purposes of friendly intercourse and mutual benevolence."*

"I will own," says Burke, "there is a haughtiness and fierceness in human nature which will cause innumerable broils; but I still insist on charging it to bad political regulations that these broils are so frequent, so cruel, and attended with consequences so deplorable.

"It is no less worthy of remark, that the separation of mankind into distinct communities has been a perpetual source of hatred and dissension. Examine history, consult present and past experience, and you find that far the greater part of the quarrels between several nations, though excited by their rulers, had scarcely any other cause than that each nation had different combinations of people, and spake another language. All empires have been cemented in blood, and in those early periods when the race of mankind first began to separate and form themselves, the first effect of their combination, and the end they had in view, was mutual destruction."

Exhibiting the state of society since the commencement of the world, the same writer adds, "For the sake of a general view, I shall lay to-

* Speech on French Treaty.

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gether all those actually slain in battles, or who have perished in a no less miserable manner by the other destructive consequences of war in the four quarters of the world, from its beginning to this day. I have not particularised and need not mention how much of these butcheries are only expressed in generals, what part of time history has never reached, and what vast spaces of the habitable globe it has not embraced. I need not enlarge on those torrents of blood which have glutted the thirsty sands of Africa, or discoloured the polar snow, or fed the savage forests of America, for so many ages of continual warfare; nor shall I inflame the account by those general massacres which have devoured whole cities and nations, those wasting pestilences, those consuming famines, and all those furies that follow in the train of war. I have no need to exaggerate. I have purposely avoided a parade of eloquence on the occasion: I should despise it on such a topic; else, in mentioning these slaughters, it is obvious how much the whole might be heightened by an affecting description of the horrors that attend the wasting of kingdoms and sacking of cities. I do not write to the vulgar, nor to that which only governs the vulgar, — their passions. I go to a naked and moderate calculation just enough, without a pedantic exactness, to give some feeling of the effects of political society, want of civilisation, and bad governments.

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"The number I particularised are about thirty-six millions in a century, including those killed in battle and by the consequences of war. I have said something, not half what the subject justified, concerning these consequences of war, even more dreadful than the monstrous carnage itself, which shocks our humanity and almost staggers our belief. Now, taking the destruction of mankind by each other to this time to have existed for fifty centuries: the calculation made for the first period, which I think is not unreasonable in making up for deficiencies, will be two thousand millions. I think the number of men now upon the earth are computed at five hundred millions at the most. Here the slaughter of mankind by each other, on what you may call a small calculation, amounts to upwards of four times the number of souls this day on the globe, a point which may furnish matter of reflection to those even little inclined to draw consequences from facts. I insist on charging it to [false] political regulations that these wars have been so frequent, so cruel, and attended with consequences so deplorable."

We here see what mankind has suffered from bad institutions or want of civilisation. In lamenting the destruction of human life, a hint only is given of the other, perhaps worse consequence of these wars,—the millions that have thereby been in barbarous ages reduced to a merciless slavery. But these were only the ceremonies performed in

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the porch of the political temple; much more horrid rites were seen as you enter it. The several governments, in ages let us hope far gone by, vied with each other in the absurdity of their laws and in the oppression which they made their subjects endure.

In the days of the ancients the prosecution of war was far more advantageous than in more modern times. The Greek republics attacked their neighbours, spoiled them of their property, and reduced the conquered population to a state of slavery. The Romans, in their flourishing days, followed a similar system. The northern tribes which desolated the beautiful plains of Italy did much the same. William the Norman, when, at the head of his troops, he became master of England, imitated these examples, though in a more insidious manner. With less violence, but greater cunning, his followers and himself divided the land, and his code of laws reduced the natives to a state nearly bordering on slavery.

During the course of the middle ages, however, and at later periods, the system of warfare in Europe, particularly since the use of gunpowder, has been carried on at a greater expense and less profit when waged by one European nation against another.

In our history, if we look at the several attempts made by our monarchs on France, even when they acquired considerable possessions in that country,

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we find greater expense incurred than advantage gained by the people of England from this occupation. The absurd attack of Henry VIII. on Boulogne impoverished the English people without leading to any advantage whatever. The unprincipled invasion of Holland by Louis XIV. brought on a series of wars that drove that monarch and his people to great difficulties, and at length forced him and his courtiers to part even with their plate and various articles of luxury without any single concomitant benefit. The usurpation of the Spanish crown by Napoleon, and his subsequent invasion of Russia, drained France, not only of men and treasure to a vast amount, but brought in return the attack of the allies on Paris.

It will appear, on reflection, that since the great change and vast improvement that has taken place in the art of war, by which warfare is more expensive than formerly, the chance of success is turned in favour of that nation possessed of most wealth. There is scarcely a single instance of a war undertaken between two nations in Europe, either by land or sea, in which the expenses incurred by each party have not far exceeded the worth of the proposed object. In former times wars might be flagitious, but were attended with advantages to the conquerors; in modern times wars are both flagitious and silly, as we repeat that both the belligerents, if European nations, are nearly certain of incurring greater loss and inconvenience than

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they can by any possibility make good from their opponents.

But let us dwell no longer on this distressing theme. Such is and has been the result in those countries where natural religion without the aid of revelation has been followed, or where the precepts of revelation, though apparent, have been disregarded.

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CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE OF CIVILISATION ON THE FEMALE SEX.

Situation of the Female Sex in former Times. — Faith and Patience of Women. — Female Slavery. — Mahometan Prejudices against Women. — Roman Ladies in the time of Domitian. — Unseen Influence of Women. — Asiatic Females. — Polygamy. — The Eastern Harem. — Chinese Women. — South Sea Savages. — Hebrew Women. — Stories by ancient Hebrew Sages. — Sufferings of Negro Women. — Amelioration in the State of Women. —Learned Females. — French Ladies in the time of Louis XIV. — Benefit derived by the Sex from Civilisation.

A GENERAL survey of the increase of civilisation having now been made, in reference to the political relations of communities with each other, let us briefly direct our attention to the social results produced by civilisation on the female sex. It may be laid down as an axiom, that, in proportion to the barbarous state in which men exist, so is the suffering and degradation of women.

History no where exhibits a spectacle so revolting, or one that so powerfully excites compassion, and even horror, as that formerly presented by the situation of the female sex amongst most nations of the globe. The lot of slaves was enviable when

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compared with that of women; and by an unaccountable contradiction, the men of those very nations who treated the captive enemies whom they had enslaved with the greatest lenity and forbearance, degraded the companions of their lives, and the mothers of their children, by the most rigid oppression and sovereign contempt.

Among more than one-half of the human race (before the rise of civilisation) the life of women was an uninterrupted series of hardships and humiliations, the patient endurance of which could hardly be expected of human nature, and yet, with few exceptions, they were patient. Fictitious representations of manners seldom run wholly counter to facts. Thus, the fine old story of Griselda, first told by Boccaccio in his Decameron, and afterwards by Chaucer, in his Canterbury Tales, though avowedly an exaggeration, must have had some foundation in the patient endurance of wrongs by women in remote times. Here is a specimen of the manner in which Griselda's husband tempts her patience (*merely by way of experiment*), and her forbearance under wrongs, to which she believes she is in reality subjected:

"I may not don as every ploughman may:
My people me constreineth for to take
Another wif, and crien day by day;
And eke the Pope, rancour for to slake,
Consenteth it, that dare I undertake:
And trewely thus moche I wol you say,
My newe wif is coming by the way.

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"Be strong of herte, and void anon hire place;
And thilke dower that ye broughten me
Take it agen: I grant it of my grace.
Returneth to your fadre's hous (quod he)
No man may alway have prosperitee.
With even herte I rede you to endure
The stroke of Fortune or of aventure.

"And she again answered in patience:
My lord, quod she, I wote and wist alway
How that betwixen your magnificence
And my poverte, ne wight ne can ne may
Maken comparison; it is no nay:
I ne held me never digne in no manere
To be your wif ne yet your chamberere.

"And in this hous ther ye me lady made
(The highe God take I for my witnesse,
And all so wisly he my soule glad)
I never held me lady ne maistresse,
But humble servant to your worthinesse,
And ever shal, while that my lif may dure,
Aboven every worldly creature.

"That ye so longe of your benignitee
Hav holden me in honour and nobley,
Wheras I was not worthy for to be,
That thanke I God and you to whom I prey,
Foryelde it you; ther is no more to say.
Unto my fader glady wol I wende,
And with him dwell unto my live's ende." *

The ballad of "The Nut Brown Maid," (a fiction three centuries old) furnishes another illustration of the tendency, formerly existing on the part of the

* Chaucer. "The Clerke's Tale," in "The Canterbury Tales."

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stronger sex, to torment the weaker by foolish, rash, and insulting trials of their faith and patience.

The condition of the maid, the wife, and the widow, was a state of progressively aggravated subjection and misery, in which all the mortifications and evils of life were accumulated. Among savage nations, females endure the most cruel and abject slavery; they are obliged to perform, if not all, at least the most laborious duties; to them devolves the task of providing food and clothing, not only for their children, but also for their indolent and unfeeling husbands.

This is a faithful picture of the condition of the female sex among all the inferior nations of Mongol origin. In the Russian provinces and northern parts of Europe, in former times, "from their 20th year," says a writer*, "the lives of women are a continued series of hardships and misery. The occupations of men solely consist of hunting and fishing; but all the rest of the labour falls on the women. Amid this incessant drudgery, the poor women are subject to the ill-treatment of their husbands."

"Notwithstanding the number and precision of Solon's laws respecting the education of the boys, no mention was made of that of the girls. The latter, in fact, received no education whatever, because they were considered merely as members of

* Professor Meiner, of Gottingen, vol. i.

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families, like slaves, and not as component parts of the people."

"It was not unusual formerly, in fact it was the prevalent custom, for fathers to sell their female offspring, even during the years of early infancy, totally regardless whether their purchasers made them slaves, or reduced them to the lowest drudgery and most severe toil. Such a custom was common, and continues still in many Eastern countries, where fathers sell their daughters at an early age. In nearly all savage or uncivilised people, the entrance into the married state was, for the female, the commencement of the most cruel and abject slavery; for which reason, in those days, women dreaded marriage more than death." *

So far from being remunerated with affection and gratitude for the incessant labours, which either prematurely terminated the lives of many, or plunged them into despair, these wretched creatures were treated with the greatest contempt. "Nor is this all; for when the first wives began to lose their charms, or their husbands to be weary of them, they were under the necessity of submitting to be slaves of their more youthful and arrogant successors." †

This galling yoke might perhaps have been endured with some degree of patience by the women, whose sensibility was not more refined than

* Professor Meiner, of Gottingen. † Ibid.

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that of the other sex, if the love and affection of the children had compensated in some degree for the indifference and cruelty of their fathers. Among the majority of the nations in which the sex was most unhappy, mothers possessed scarcely any authority over their children, particularly the sons who were past the years of infancy. On the contrary, they were obliged to submit to every species of abuse, of which their brutal offspring frequently made a boast.

"Though these women were thus doomed to a life of incessant labour; though they endured with such patience the coldness and ill-treatment of their husbands, the ingratitude of their children, and the arrogance of more favoured rivals, still even this horrible state of degradation and misery had a lower deep; for on the slightest pretexts wives were repudiated, sold, or put to death with impunity. Even after the decease of their husbands, widows had seldom to expect any mitigation of their lot, but had in general more reason to apprehend an aggravation of their sufferings. They were either sold by the relatives of their husbands, or plundered of their little property, and expelled from their habitations. Very often, after witnessing the death of their infants by the tedious pangs of hunger, they themselves shared the same cruel fate. But if famine and misery should not terminate their sufferings, yet, on the approach of age, females were not sure of their lives a single day. If any

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accident whatever befel an ignorant savage, and he was unable to account for it in any other way, he had no hesitation to ascribe his misfortunes to the magic spells of some old woman, and this alone was sufficient to remove the supposed sorceress out of the world, without further accusation, trial, or condemnation."

Such seems, from the account of a learned German historian, to have been the state of the female sex in the days of barbarism, and such it appears to be in nations little removed from that condition in the present day. In all parts of the globe where the elements of civilisation are deficient, the situation of females is found to be most wretched, worse in many respects than that of the male sex, though the latter are necessarily exposed to great hardships and privations.

It has been observed*, that in the sentiments of the Greeks, and in the conduct of both sexes during the heroic ages, there are many real or apparent contradictions which we scarcely know how to reconcile. From the seclusion of women among the Greeks of remote antiquity, it might naturally be supposed, that they were more jealous than the pure Celtic nations.

"Mahomet speaks of women in his Koran, as if they were beings of an inferior order to men; and many Mahometans not only doubt, but even deny, that women have souls, and that they are destined

* Goguet, vol. ii. p. 364.

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to participate in the joys of Paradise. Even the tender-hearted Mussulmans, who are disposed to allow a future state and future felicity for the poor women, maintain that they will not be admitted into the same Paradise with the men, a notion which has never obtained partizans in our division of the globe, and which I hope either sex will be equally ready to reject. Such a mean estimation of women as Mahomet's Koran announces did not originate with the Arabs and their legislator; but Mahomet derived it from the universal sentiment of the Orientals, which from time immemorial has prevailed from the north-western extremity of Africa to the shores of the Ganges and the mountains of Thibet, and still predominates in those regions, not only among the Mahometans, but also among other inhabitants. Though Mahomet has not forbidden it, yet the present Orientals are as tenacious as their remotest ancestors, of permitting their most highly favoured women to eat, or merely to be seated in their presence, because they regard either as an indignity or degradation to man, the lord of woman. Not only do the Orientals neither respect nor reverence any virtue in women, but they ascribe to them, without exception, every fault of which the sex is capable, and by which it is most debased."*

If therefore so many nations as are included in the denomination of Orientals, have for ages thought

* Chardin, iv. 26.

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and acted in an undeviating manner, this harmony of sentiment and conduct cannot be ascribed to the precepts of individual legislators: it is the effect of want of civilisation, and arises from the most unlimited authority on one hand, and the most abject slavery on the other.

We find among the European nations, in remote periods of antiquity, a want of decorum similar to that described on many occasions by Homer, and erroneously termed simplicity of manners. Though the number of slaves of both sexes which the kings and heroes of the fabulous ages, and their wives and daughters, had to wait upon them, far surpassed that of the attendants at the courts of the kings, princes, and knights of the middle ages, yet the former stooped to many menial offices which the latter always deemed unworthy of their situation. Heroes and the sons of princes slaughtered cattle and broiled the flesh themselves; harnessed and unharnessed horses and other animals; carried burdens from the chariots into their habitations; and princesses did not disdain the employment of washing linen, nor were they ashamed to be conveyed home in the same vehicle with the purified garments.

The accounts we have of the modern Slavonic nations are, it is true, extremely imperfect; yet it must be obvious to every reader, that similar examples of indecorum, and the same mixture of pomp and meanness, still distinguish these people

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from nations possessing a more delicate organisation, and more refined sentiment.

Juvenal's bitter invective on women, in his sixth Satire, is not so much an argument against the sex, as against the corrupt state of manners in Domitian's time, when Rome was enervated by luxury. One of the great objects of women is, to recommend themselves to men; and it therefore is obvious that the Roman ladies would not have committed the acts denounced by Juvenal had they not been encouraged by the other sex. The poet's anger should have fallen exclusively on the men.

We have it on the authority of Juvenal, that Roman ladies were in the habit (like prize-fighters) of contending publicly in the arena with gladiators.

> "They turn viragos too; the wrestler's toil
> They try, and smear the naked limbs with oil;
> Against the post their wicker shields they crush,
> Flourish the sword, and at the flastron push.
> Of every exercise the mannish crew
> Fulfils the parts, and oft excels us too;
> Prepar'd not only in feign'd fights to engage,
> But rout the gladiators on the stage.
> What sense of shame in such a breast can lie,
> Inur'd to arms, and her own sex to fly?" *

* Dryden's Translation of Juvenal, vol. xiii. p. 160. 8vo. edit.

"The poet having shown the impudence of the Roman women in the imitation of wrestlers, wearing like them their rugs after their exercise for fear of catching cold, in the next place shows their boldness in practising the palaria, an exercise used by soldiers in their camp. That exercise anciently was fencing at a stake or moveable figure above the ground the

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It seems also that the Roman women were not allowed to dine with their husbands, as appears from passages in the work of an old scholiast. "The ancient Romans lay on couches at their meals, as is commonly known, yet in the first or most ancient times they did use to *sit*, as Varro tells us. After their conquests over Asia, Greece, and Hannibal, they adopted this custom. Syphax, the Numidian king, supped lying on a couch when he entertained Scipio and Asdrubal. (See Livy, decad. iii. lib. viii.) Virgil also mentions the same of Dido, — Inde thoro pater Æneas sic orsus ab alto. "Yet, *after the men were grown to this fashion*, it was long ere women came into such luxury!"*

Other passages are to be found in the history of the ancients, tending to show in what little estimation the female sex were held, and the manner in which they were treated. "Woman is essentially the same in every climate; her nature an enigma not less to the wise than to the foolish: her perfection her happiness, her misery identically our own. Where the education of women is neglected, says Aristotle, 'a nation can be but half happy;' but where such is their fortune, even this half happiness may be disputed; nature seeming,

height of a man, at which they performed all the points of the fencer's art as with an enemy, *by way of preparation to a true fight.*"—*Notes on Juvenal*, by Barton Holyday, D.D., Arch. of Oxford, 1673, p. 116.

* Notes on Juvenal, by Barton Holyday, D.D., Arch. of Oxford, 1673, p. 82.

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as far as participated happiness is concerned, to have made them the all in all of man. From this it would seem that the education of women should stand amongst the first of duties in a civilised state; for human nature is formed in their bosoms, and the fate of the greatest nations flows from their character as from a fountain. Appearing nothing in political institutions, they are nevertheless the soul of all! Their influence, it must be owned, is secret; but, like the spirit of nature, it pervades every atom of the social system, and is frequently most felt where its existence is least suspected." *

This is verity itself. Without the ministration of women, the frame of social existence would fall to ruin. In his "Seven Ages of Human Life," Shakspeare has pointed to *three*, as being obviously under the guidance and influence of woman, to whom is consigned "the infant in the nurse's arms," "the school-boy with his shining morning face," and "the lover sighing like furnace, with a ballad made to his mistress's eyebrow." But how can the other *four* do without her? Will the soldier "seek the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth," unless excited by the hope of her smile? Can the justice have his "good capon," and the other luxuries of his table, without her superintendence? What is to become of the "lean and slippered pantaloon" unless she watches over him? Or how can the darkness of the "last scene of all, that ends

* Oriental Herald.

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this strange eventful history," be cheered except by the affectionate attention of woman?

But let us see how this untiring, this unfailing care was formerly requited. "It is an awful and heart-rending act," says a modern authoress, "to raise the dark curtain which hangs before the sanctuary of the women throughout the great continent of Asia, and to penetrate the domestic holds of those wealthy, luxurious, but yet uncivilised nations, which arrogate to themselves the precedence in creation, and date their power and their policy from eras anterior to the written records of more civilised communities. In those states, in which deficiency of moral principle is apparent, and in whose condition the passage of some thousands of years has impressed no change, and in which the sufferings of one half of the species have never awakened any sympathy, may be discovered the most graphic illustrations of the tyranny of man, and of the degradation of woman. There the sexes are in their mutual relations still where the earliest necessities of the species first placed them, perpetuating by their false position the barbarous rudiments of primeval society. The sin of polygamy, still unredeemed in the East, dries up the fountains of human sensibility, and crushes every better impulse of feeling, annihilating even the hope of political liberty, and leaving the wisest legislative reformer at best but a happy accident, if not an anomaly and a discord. In the zenana of

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the modern Hindoo, woman is still reared the slave of the most frightful superstitions, the victim of the most selfish institutes that the mind of man has been able to devise. Inconstant, her infidelity to her lord is punished by a living burial: faithful, her constancy is rewarded by a place on his funeral pyre.*" Her life and death are alike a violence to nature, an outrage on society, and a mortifying and melancholy instance of the disinclination in mankind, unless improved by civilisation, to treat their fellow-creatures with kindness. Wherever we turn our eyes,—in whatever part of the globe we direct our attention, this seems to be the case. In savage life, in the half-polished, but profligate state of the middle ages, even in later periods, until civilisation had made some progress, in what bitter oppression do we find the female sex! Let us revert to the accounts of those who have given us various narrations on the subject.

The position of women of savage life, miserable as it is known to be, is less shockingly degraded than that of females in those vast empires of the East, which vaunt an antique origin, and in which a falsely styled civilisation, formed by wealth alone, has afforded some resemblance of a social policy. Although little or nothing is known of the early condition of these widely extended nations, yet the

* This passage, and some others in following pages, are taken from a celebrated female writer, who has ably advocated the cause of her sex — Lady Morgan.

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scanty fragments of their history which have reached posterity, show them to have been removed beyond the rudeness of savage life. In the records of those ages, when the chief wealth was exclusively confined to Asia, (the supposed cradle of the human species, and also the cradle of its written history,) moral and physical suffering is found to characterise the servitude of women, and to crush them under a slavery, if possible more revolting than that of the mere savage. In Asia has existed from time immemorial the system of polygamy, an institution most injurious to the progress of society wherever it has prevailed.

"Look at the Persian harem, and the Turkish seraglio! The narration of the victims devoted on the altars of man's sensuality and cruelty is briefly and bitterly told; ignorance, corruption, incarceration—infants murdered, mothers maddened; for the unfaithful, the sack, the bowstring, or the tower —for the true, harsh treatment, neglect, or untimely death. For this existence of pains, and penalties, and privations, what are the compensations? A toy, a flower, a sweetmeat, and above all a smile from those lips that might pronounce death to the dearest, or extinction of sight to the brightest. There is a pompous and a pedantic land, that boasts of an antique supremacy in wisdom and science, — China, the land of many letters and many lanthorns. In this empire polygamy prevails, and the sovereign, self-imprisoned in his golden-roofed palace

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with his one empress, six queens, and three hundred (or, if he pleases, three thousand) concubines, reflects on a great scale the domestic establishments of his subjects, whose means may enable them to imitate the illustrious example. The female slave, who at the head of a band of inferior slaves, is dignified with the name of wife, is not deemed worthy to eat at her master's table. Crippled from her cradle, ignorant of even one of the thousand letters of her lord's alphabet, referred to the most childish amusements as resources against utter tedium, to dress and to smoke are her highest pleasures, and to totter and flutter on the flat roof of her golden cage her sole privilege and only recreation. She, too, feeble and imbecile as she must be, is outraged in the only feeling that nature may have reserved from the wreck of man's oppression: the Chinese wife, like the Odalisque of Turkey, gives up her offspring a sacrifice to the murderous policy of her master."

If such be the destiny of the wife of the ruler of the Celestial Empire, the woman of the middle class submits to a still severer fate.

Descending lower in the social chain, the female peasant of China presents a singular instance of plodding industry. With her infant tied to her back, she ploughs, sows, reaps, and performs the thousand offices of toil and drudgery attached to the soil from which she derives so little benefit and enjoyment. The death of her husband gives her

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over to his family, who, to recover the money expended in her purchase, may resell her to the highest bidder. Suicide, it is asserted, is of frequent occurrence among Chinese females of the lowest class, and well may they seek death, to whom, from the cradle to the tomb, there is only a long and dreary vista without one solitary resting-place.

Tartar and Scandinavian women are permitted to join in the sacrifice for obtaining plenty of food, but in no other. Many of these tribes, who deny the female title to future existence, imagine it is unnecessary for the ladies to solicit their deities, unless for present subsistence.

"The savage of the South Seas in his person was all deformity and disproportion: in his intellectual frame, he was all density and insensibility. His head was immense and mis-shapen, his eyes dim and sunk, his brows bushy, and his mouth (frightful as that of a crocodile) opened extravagantly wide, to show enormous teeth above a lower jaw. His nose was flat, his nostrils wide, his colour swarthy, his hair long and straight, his limbs dwindled, his trunk swollen, and his whole aspect horrible and disgusting. Thus framed by nature, his appearance was still further degraded by the symbols of brutal taste and of fierce cruelty with which he adorned his unsightly person. The teeth of men or of kangaroos were fastened in his gum-clotted hair; the bones of fish were stuck through his nostrils,

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and incisions made in his arms and breasts, marked his callous insensibility to pain.

"Naked and unaccommodated, these savages were indifferent to the inclemencies of clime and season, and inapprehensive of decency. As huntsman he still makes the hollow of the tree his den, as fisherman a hole in the rock his dwelling. He slept like the wild beast of the forest the deep sleep of fatigue and surfeit, and he awakened without forethought or fear of the coming day, to destroy or be destroyed with equal indifference.

"Human nature could go no lower; yet this defective and ill-conditioned creature, this unideal and unawakened animal, had one strong moral conviction,—that of his own superiority over the female of his own species. He believed that woman was of another nature from himself, and that he was born her master, she his servant, by right of the strongest. He marked her at the hour of her birth as his slave by breaking the joints of her fore-fingers; he renewed the covenant of his supremacy in her first youth, by knocking out her front teeth; and when he selected this bond slave as the object of his passions, he intimated his preference by spitting in her face and forcing her to his den. Thus affianced through contempt and suffering, the slave submitted, and the master assumed uncontrolled power of life and death over her. He loaded her shoulders (wounded by his stripes) with weights which his own indolence refused to bear, and

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speared her to the earth if she resisted the imposition. Wallowing in indolence when not wallowing in blood, he leaves to the woman, his servant, all the labour, forethought, and ingenuity necessary for the wants of his savage interior, and he lies basking before his standard, or shaded by his broad buffalo shield, while his woman performs the drudgery of a beast of burden, in the consciousness of her inability to resist the violence and tyranny of her master." *

In Asia females are regarded as creatures in every way inferior to man. Those elegant, delicate, and refined sentiments peculiar to the sex in every age and clime, and which, in the estimation of civilised man, rank her as "heaven's last, best work," and which ought to render her the object of peculiar care and attention, mark her out, from her weakness, as the victim of her husband's capricious violence and wanton cruelty. The wretched condition in former days of Siberian females is well known: these patient bond-women as wives are repudiated, as slaves are sold, and are debased, tortured, or put to death at the caprice of the men to whom they stand in the relations of sister, wife, daughter, or slave.†

There is no doubt that the Hebrew women were treated in a more humane manner than their sex in Persia or Egypt, as the Hebrews were more ad-

* Woman and her Master, by Lady Morgan.

† The Mogul and Siberian tribes.

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vanced in civilisation; and yet what a state of society existed at that time! *

To demonstrate the selfishness of men, and the virtue of women, we quote the following tales from the writings of Ancient Hebrew sages, collected by Hyman Hurwitz: —

"A certain Israelite of Sidon, having been married above ten years without being blessed with offspring, determined to be divorced from his wife. With this view he brought her before Rabbi Simon son of Jo-cho-e. The Rabbi, who was unfavourable to divorces, endeavoured at first to dissuade him from it. Seeing him however disinclined to accept his advice, he addressed him and his wife thus: — 'My children, when you were first joined in the holy bands of wedlock, were ye not rejoiced? Did ye not make a feast and entertain your friends? Now, since ye are resolved to be divorced, let your separation be like your union. Go home, make a feast, entertain your friends, and on the morrow come to me, and I will comply with your wishes.' So reasonable a request, and coming from such authority, could not, with any degree of propriety, be rejected. They accordingly went home, prepared a sumptuous entertainment, to which they invited their several friends. During the hours of merriment, the husband being elated with wine, thus addressed his wife: — 'My beloved, we have lived

* Michaelis.

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together happily these many many years; it is only the want of children that makes me wish for a separation. To convince thee, however, that I bear thee no ill-will, I give thee permission to take with thee out of my house any thing thou likest best.' 'Be it so,' rejoined the woman. The cup went round, the people were merry; and having drank rather freely, most of the guests fell asleep; and amongst them the master of the feast. The lady no sooner perceived it, than she ordered him to be carried to her father's house, and to be put into a bed prepared for the purpose. The fumes of the wine having gradually evaporated, the man awoke. Finding himself in a strange place, he wondered, and exclaimed, 'Where am I? How came I here? What means all this?' His wife, who had waited to see the issue of her stratagem, stepped from behind a curtain, and begging him not to be alarmed, told him that he was now in her father's house. 'In thy father's house!' exclaimed the still astonished husband, 'How should I come in thy father's house?' 'Be patient, my dear husband,' replied the prudent woman; 'be patient, and I will tell thee all. Recollect, didst thou not tell me last night, I might take out of thy house whatever I valued most? Now, believe me, my beloved, amongst all thy treasures there is not one I value so much as I do thee; nay, there is not a treasure in this world I esteem so much as I do thee.' The husband, overcome by so much kindness, embraced her, was

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reconciled to her; and they lived thenceforth very happily together." *

Let us narrate another story from the same source:—

"Rabbi Meir was accustomed to preach publicly for the edification of the people, on the eve of the sabbath. Amongst his numerous audience, there was a woman, who was so delighted with his discourse, that she remained until he had concluded. Instructed and pleased, she went towards home to enjoy the repast which was generally prepared for the honour of the day; but was greatly disappointed, on arriving near her house, to find the lights extinguished, and her husband standing at the door, in very ill humour. 'Where hast thou been?' exclaimed he, in a tone that at once indicated that he was not much pleased with her absence. 'I have been,' replied the woman, mildly, 'to hear our learned Rabbi preach, and a delightful discourse it was.'—'Was it?' rejoined the husband, who affected to be something of a wit: 'well then, since the Rabbi has pleased thee so much, I vow that thou shalt not enter this house until thou hast spit in his face, as a reward for the entertainment he has afforded thee.' The woman, astonished at so unreasonable a demand, thought at first her husband was joking, and began to congratulate herself on his returning good humour; but she was soon convinced that it was no jest. The brute in-

* Medrash Shir Hashirim.

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sisted on her spitting in the preacher's face, as the sole condition of being re-admitted into the house; and as she was too pious to offer such an indignity to any person, much less to so learned a man, she was constrained to remain in the street. A charitable neighbour offered her an asylum, which was gladly accepted. There she remained some time, endeavouring in vain to mollify her husband, who still persisted in his first demand. The affair made some noise in the town, and a report of the transaction was communicated to Rabbi Meir, who immediately sent for the woman. She came: the good Rabbi desired her to be seated. Pretending to have pain in his eyes, he, without taking the least notice of what had transpired, asked her, whether she knew any remedy for it? — 'Master,' said the woman, 'I am but a poor ignorant creature; how should I know how to cure thine eyes?' 'Well, well,' rejoined the Rabbi, 'do as I bid thee — spit seven times in mine eyes — it may produce some good.' The woman, who believed there was some virtue in that operation, after some hesitation, complied. As soon as it was done, Meir thus addressed her: — 'Good woman, go home, and tell thy husband — 'It was thy desire that I should spit in the Rabbi's face once. I have done so; nay, I have done more, I have spit in it seven times — now let us be reconciled.'

"Meir's disciples, who had watched their master's conduct, ventured to expostulate with him on thus

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permitting a woman to offer him such an indignity, observing, that this was the way to make the people despise the law and its professors. 'My children,' said their pious instructor, 'think ye that your master ought to be more punctilious about his honour than his Creator? Even HE, the Adorable, blessed be He, permitted his Holy Name to be obliterated*, in order to promote peace between man and wife, and shall I consider any thing as an indignity that can effect so desirable an object? Learn, then, that no act is disgraceful that tends to promote the happiness and peace of mankind. It is vice and wickedness only that can degrade us.†'"

Polygamy, amongst the Jews, was restricted to four wives; but the number of concubines was indefinite. A century before the Christian era, Aristobulus, the then reigning king and pontiff of Judea, had an attempt made against his authority by his mother, who laid claim to the throne of Judea on account of the vices and atrocities committed by her son. In this she failed, and the ferocious Aristobulus condemned her to the slow torture of dying by hunger in a loathsome dungeon. The murder of his brother Antigone soon followed that of his mother. It is, however, needless to enter into this catalogue of human abominations: reference is only made to show how women were treated in ancient

* See Numbers v. 23.

† Medrash Vayeekra Rabah. Debarim Rabah.

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times, and in what situation they were placed, and how they were considered. Superior as were the Hebrew women in their situation, a superiority acknowledged in those days, and upheld by the wisest among the men, their wrongs from the first were mighty—their disabilities, to the end, many. The last of their prophets thundered in vain his denunciations * against the injustice of their masters, and their most accredited historians have left on authentic record the enumeration of their wrongs, and the absurdity of their oppressors; ancient laws and prejudices were alike unfavourable to their happiness and social consideration. †

Amongst the Hebrews, in the Egyptian captivity, Pharaoh charged all the people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river.

To evade this cruel order, one unhappy mother of the tribe of Levi, after concealing her infant for three months, resolved on committing him herself to the chances of the Nile. The only confidant of so perilous a breach of the atrocious edict of Pharaoh was her own child, the sister of the proscribed infant, whose name—Miriam, "the star of the sea," —"she who brightens or enlightens" ‡—might, perhaps, have been given to her from some precocious exhibition of the great qualities by which she was afterwards distinguished, or some happy coin-

* Malachi, chap. ii. v. 19.

† Dissertatio Historici Moralis de Mulierum Conditionem.

‡ St. Jerome.

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cidence of locality or nativity, consonant to the custom of the Hebrews.

The unfortunate mother, having laid her infant in the flags by the river's brink, either in fear or despair abandoned him to his fate, and departed. But Miriam, the sister of the abandoned child, stood afar off, in the forlorn hope of seeing whether any thing could be done to save the infant. Another image of female sympathy next presented itself. The King's daughter saw the ark among the flags, and sent her attendants to bring it to her. When, on opening it, she beheld the babe, she wept and said, This is one of the Hebrew children. The young Miriam, in the quick apprehension of sisterly affection, read the salvation of her infant-brother in the eyes of the princess, and darting forwards from her covert, put the question, "Shall I go and call to thee a nurse of the Hebrew women?" And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, "Go:" and the maid went, and called the child's mother.

Other Eastern nations exhibit also fearful examples of the evils of polygamy; its outrages and degradations towards one half of the human species, and its brutalising reaction on the other. Still, through ages of suffering and injustice, the numbing influence of custom, that often confounds establishment with fitness, did not extinguish the sense of right in its victims.

"If the Hindoo woman, all teeming with life and feeling, was buried or burned alive at her husband's

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will, — if the Chinese crushed the feet and paralysed the intellects of their women, the practice was traced back to remote customs, lost in the mist and obscurity of ages."

Persian historians establish the fact, that polygamy reigned unrestrained in that country from the earliest times.

In Egypt the condition of the women does not appear much improved.

"If we look to the negro race, in those burning regions where summer heats for ever glow, where the children bask in everlasting sunshine, where the blood flows through the throbbing veins in volcanic torrents; where no iceberg chills, no snow-storm freezes; where the coasts are sanded with gold, and the bosom of the earth studded with diamonds,—what is woman in Africa, the darkest illustrations of Ethiopian variety. The negro with his low, narrow, and slanting forehead (the distinctive features of mental deficiency), with all the brutal sensuality of the savage, and the lowest vices, is equally satisfied of his own superiority over the female as the American and the Siberian; the same causes every where producing the same effects. The African, like the Siberian, while he oppresses, fancies that he despises her. As a father, he beats, tortures, or kills her at discretion. As bridegroom, he receives her as a slave into his hut; and his first order is to send her to fetch wood and water, a foretaste of her future servitude,—a token that he is her master.

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"He scarcely ever shares with her his cabin, and never his board. Even the common wrong of West Indian slavery does not remove their distinction; for the negress in the sugar islands, as in her native Africa, humbly presents the tobacco and drink which her intelligent industry has prepared for her indolent husband. Lord of the ascendant in his native region, the male negro hunts and fishes, makes and repairs the hut. Still the greater part of his time passes in idleness and smoking, while to the female he consigns all the various toils of agriculture and domestic service. The patient, laborious negress tills, and sows, and reaps, (often with one infant at her back and another at her bosom), prepares the millet and the tobacco. She rears the domestic animals, carries in the wood and water, and is at once the providence of her master, and his victim. Even the wives of the barbaric chiefs and kings are not exempt from these labours; and when time destroys their powers, or satiety marks them for disgust, they are sold in the European slave market, or hurried into a premature grave by aggravated brutality and misusage.

"The sufferings and wrongs of woman, among the savage tribes of the inferior races, however separated by origin or by distance, everywhere alike exhibit her and her master in the same relation to that of slave and tyrant,—a relation determined by physical causes. The possession of power awakens the selfishness of man in all races and in

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all climes, developing those depraved and cruel and arbitrary tendencies which civilisation and an enlightened morality alone can regulate and adjust."*

Among no European nation in which the arts and sciences have ever flourished, were they wholly monopolised by the stronger sex. Females have taken a larger or a smaller share in both: the greater number, in order to cultivate the qualities of the heart and understanding, and to fit themselves for the performance of the social duties; but many, with a view to exalt themselves above the level of their sex,— exposed formerly, as they conceived, to oppression and contempt,—and to vie with the most industrious and the most celebrated men in the career of genius and reputation.

The state of women in the seventeenth century became greatly ameliorated; and it appears gradually to have improved in all nations of the world, as civilisation advanced. "I am confident," says a German author, "that the female sex will never desire the return of the good old times, as they have been denominated; nor wish to exchange the present age, and their present condition, for any age or any condition that formerly existed." †

Subsequently to the middle ages, some women of a superior description appear to have received a good education, which is observed in the early part of the fifteenth century, at which period they were

* See "Woman and her Master."

† Meiners, vol. i. p. 42.

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educated by the clergy, and taught the Greek and Latin languages.

In England, also, the tuition of some few females, in the sixteenth century, was not neglected. Queen Elizabeth was well acquainted with several of the dead languages.

In the latter half of the same century, the number of learned females increased in the same proportion as ancient literature became more generally diffused. Politian praises, in particular, a Cassandra, and some others, on account of the beautiful Greek and Latin poems, by which they excited the envy or admiration of the contemporary poets and lovers of poesy. Catharine, consort of Henry VIII. of England, and the two regents of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary, attained such proficiency in Latin, that they could not only read, without interpreters, the works dedicated to them in that language by the most celebrated writers, and the Latin letters which were sent to them, but the latter could even return answers in the same language.

Still, although a few women in a very high and prominent situation might receive a good education, yet the manners of the people were too rude to admit the female sex to a participation in those rights, and that consideration in society, to which they were entitled, and which they enjoy in the present state of civilisation. The conduct of Henry VIII. towards his wives,—the treatment

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which Mary Queen of Scots experienced, both during her life and at her execution,—the accounts given us of the lives of illustrious females in those days, — naturally lead to a conclusion, that if women in a high and exalted situation could be so harshly and cruelly treated, the mass of womankind must have been held in utter wretchedness and degradation.

When we see the talent displayed by Madame de Sevigné in her letters, and by other ladies of that age, the natural exclamation would be, that the females in France, during the time of Louis XIV., were in the height of their intellect and of their influence, and that their situation was in every respect such as they deserved. No doubt the condition of a few favoured persons about the court was improved, their manners refined, and their talents and information extensive; but were these advantages partaken by the mass of females in a respectable situation then in France?

We must be cautious not to form an impression of the manner in which the sex was treated from Madame de Sevigné, or other ladies who, from their talents or other causes, were held in high estimation by the court: on looking below the surface, we find the mass of women in those days, particularly in the lower class, treated with great brutality.

A writer of that age and nation says, "The vices of the court inundated the capital and the

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whole kingdom with much more fatal force than its pleasures. They infected even foreign courts and nations. Invisible vices still lurked in concealment, and were aggravated by universal hypocrisy. The novelists of the age imagined it impossible to make much further advances in depravity. The prodigious corruption of morals at the court of Louis XIV. first manifested itself by the excesses in which most of the princesses of the royal family indulged."

"The universal profligacy that prevailed" (says an eye-witness) "prevented that consideration being bestowed on the sex, which they have acquired in later and more civilised times."*

Let us not therefore be deceived, or imagine erroneously, that the female sex in France, or in other parts of Europe, was two centuries from this day held in that state of consideration and respect in which we find them at present. No one can deny the elegance and captivating style of Madame de Sevigné, and the consideration she ought to have enjoyed ; but the respect paid to the talent of an individual had nothing whatever in unison with the manner in which the female sex in general were treated during that century.

A vast improvement in the situation of the female sex since the advance of civilisation is apparent. In our days, the education of woman makes her the companion of man, not his slave ; she partici-

* Richelieu, vol. i. p. 7.

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pates in his domestic comforts, instead of being his menial drudge. As partner of his life, she shares in his joys and sorrows, affords him advice in trouble, solace in adversity, and adds to his pride and pleasure in the halcyon days of his fortune. Whilst man is occupied in his pursuits, either physical or mental, his wife overlooks his domestic affairs, and educates her children.

Whether as maid, wife, or widow, in whatever circle she may move, she has influence in that proportion: as civilisation extends, so does woman increase her power, and secure the dignity and high bearing of her nature.

"Throughout the entire fragmental history of the earliest peopled regions of the earth, this one great dogma is mystically attested and made darkly visible,—that at some periods of the obscure and doubtful past, the spiritual nature of woman struggled against the physical power of man," — an unequal contest — most unequal where brute force was most powerful, and ignorance and barbarism most prevalent. Since civilisation has been known, the rights of woman have been ascertained and allowed: she now claims her privileges, and is acknowledged to be in every respect the equal of man, and the participator of those benefits which in the obscure days of barbarism were arrogated by him alone.

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CHAPTER III.

WITCHCRAFT.

Deficiency of Civilisation evidenced by Persecution for Witchcraft. — Ancient Origin of the Belief in Witchcraft. — First Impulse given in modern Times to this Species of Fanaticism. — Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. — Enormous Cruelty of Inquisitors. — James the First's "Demonology."— Supposed Crime of Witchcraft in Scotland. — Frightful Amount of the Number of Witches annually executed. — A Witch-finder. — Absurd Trials and sanguinary Sentences. — Atrocities in Germany and France. — Edict against Witchcraft by Charlemagne. — Extermination of the Stedinger. — Extirpation of the Knights Templars. — Sprenger's Malleus Maleficarum. — Commissions to hunt out and destroy Sorcerers. — Judicial Massacres in Dalecarlia. — Execution of the Maréchale D'Ancre and Urban Grandier. — Partial Downfall of this Superstition in Germany. — Ben Jonson and James I. — Witch Persecution in England and Scotland. — Early Promoters and early Opposers of Belief in Witchcraft. — Wisdom of Judge Holt. — Address of the Parliament of Rouen to Louis XIV. — Dishonest Object of the Inquisition. — Difference in the State of public Opinion between the Time of James II. and the present Period.

THE deficiency of civilisation in the middle ages, and even until the last century, has been demonstrated to the best of our ability in the preceding pages. It will, however, become still more evident when the conduct pursued towards unhappy persons accused of sorcery and witchcraft during the above period is developed.

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On this account it may be necessary to give a few details on the subject of witchcraft and sorcery. It is important to our subject to see, even within less than two centuries, the condition in which the people not only of this island but of various parts of the globe were, when they could behold, not only without disapprobation, but even with exultation, men, women, and *children* burnt alive for witchcraft, after having been tortured to confess an imaginary crime, of which they were unconscious. That men of education, humanity, and intellectual power, equal probably to any now living (Sir Thomas Browne, for instance), should have been so infatuated or so benighted by fanaticism as to give a passive encouragement to these horrors, in place of manfully opposing them, gives a truly melancholy impression of the weakness of our nature!

Such are the motives for entering into this unpleasant subject, which shall be done as concisely as possible; but by this record of human folly and superstition, the extent of ignorance lately prevalent in nearly the whole of Europe will be demonstrated. No one can deny that prejudice or folly may now exist among many of the brutal and bigoted in every nation; but, in the present day, any attempt at sorcery would be scouted by the community. Is it not matter of surprise to find, within the lapse of so few years, that not only did the destruction of persons accused of witchcraft meet with the appro-

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bation of the people, but that it was sanctioned by some leading men of the time, who, had they lived in this day, might be deemed the mouthpieces and promoters of public wisdom and justice.*

The supposed existence of witchcraft, which made such havoc in Europe in the middle ages, and even

* The following singular passages, relative to supposed witch-ceremonies, are extracted from Ben Jonson's "Masque of Queenes:"—The seriousness, apparent sincerity, and grave display of learning, with which the poet records the preposterous mysteries of sorcery, are very diverting. He deals with them as though he were considering unquestionable facts. The cause of this abuse of a noble intellect may be traced to Jonson's courtly adulation: his master, James I., had written and published his "Demonology," to which indeed Ben alludes with praise in the Notes to his "Masque of Queenes."

> "I have been gathering wolvè's hairs,
> The mad dog's foam and the adder's ears,
> The spurgings of a dead man's eyes;
> And all since the evening star did rise."

"Spuma canum, lupi crines, nodus hyenæ, oculi draconum, serpentis membrana, aspidis aures, are all mentioned by the ancients in witchcraft, and Lucan particularly, lib. vi. 'Huc quicquid fata genuit natura sinistro miscetur, non spuma canum, quibus unda timori est, viscera non lyncis, non duræ nodus hyenæ defuit,' &c. And Ovid, Metam., lib. vii. reckons up others. But for the spurging of the eyes, let us return to Lucan, in the same book, which piece (as all the rest) is written with an admirable height. 'Ast ubi servantur saxis, quibus intimus humor ducitur, et tracta durescunt tabe medullæ corpora, tunc omneis avide desævit in artus, immersita manus oculis, gaudetque gelatos effedisse, orbeis et sicca pallida rodit excrementa manu.'

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at a later period, has been alluded to by most of the ancient poets. Homer, in the Odyssey, tells us

> " The scrich-owl's eggs, and the feathers black,
> The blood of the frog, and the bone in his back,
> I have been getting; and made of his skin
> A purset to keep Sir Cranion in.

" These are Canidia's furniture, in Horat. Epod., lib. i. ode 5. 'Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine, plumamque nocturnæ strigis.' And part of Medea's confection, in Ovid. Metam. lib. vii. 'Strigis infames, ipsis cum carnibus, alas.' That of the skin (to make a purse for her fly) was meant ridiculous, to mock the keeping of their familiars.

> " I went to the toad breeds under the wall:
> I charm'd him out, and he came at my call:
> I scratch'd out the eyes of the owl before;
> I tore the bat's wing. What would you have more?

" These also, both by the confessions of witches and testimony of writers, are of principal use in witchcraft. The toad mentioned in Virg. Geo., 'Inventusque, canis bufo,' which by Pliny is called 'Rubeta,' Nat. Hist., lib. xxxii. c. 5. and there celebrated for the force in magic. Juvenal toucheth at it twice, within my memory, Sat. i. and vi. And of the owl's eyes, see Corn. Agri. de Occult. Philos., l. i. c. 15. As of the bat's blood and wings, there, and in the 25th chap., with Bapt. Porta, l. ii. c. 26.

> " Black go in, and blacker come out;
> At thy going down we give thee a shout.
> Hoo!
> At thy rising again thou shalt have two,
> And if thou dost what we'd have thee do,
> Thou shalt have three, thou shalt have four,
> Thou shalt have ten, thou shalt have a score.
> Hoo! Har! Har! Hoo!

" These shouts and clamours, as also the voice 'Har! har!' are very particular with them, by the testimony of Bodin,

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of the witch Circe; Theocritus speaks of Simatha in Pharmaceutria; Virgil of Alphesibœus; Ovid of

Remig. Delrio, and M. Philip Ludwigus, Elich, who out of them reports it thus—'Tota turba colluviesque pessima fescenninos in honorem dæmonum cantat obscœnissimos.'

" A cloud of pitch, a spur and a switch,
To haste him away, and a whirlwind play,
Before and after, with thunder for laughter,
And storms for joy of the roaring boy;
His head of a drake, his tail of a snake.

" About, about, and about,
Till the mist arise and the lights fly out,
The images neither be seen nor felt,
The woollen burn and the waxen melt:
Sprinkle your liquors upon the ground,
And into the air. Around, around!
Around, around,
Around, around,
Till a music sound,
And the pace be found,
To which we may dance,
And our charms advance.

"Nor do they want music, and in strange manner given them by the Devil, if we credit their confessions in Remig. Dæm. lib. i. cap. 19. Such as the Syrbanæan quires were, which Athenæus remembers out of Clearchus, Deipnos, lib. xv., where every one sung what he would without hearkening to his fellow, like the noise of divers oars falling in the water.

" Under a cradle I did creep
By day; and when the child was asleep
At night, I suck'd the breath; and rose,
And pluck'd the nodding nurse by the nose.

"For this rite, see Barthol. de Spina. Quæst. de Strigibus, cap. viii., Mal. Malefica, tom. ii., where he disputes at large the transformation of witches to cats, and their sucking both their spirits

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Dipsas, in his Art of Love, and of Medea and Circe, in his Metamorphoses; Tibullus, of Saga; Horace, of Canidia, Sagana, Veia, Folia; Seneca, of Medea; Petronius Arbiter, of *his* Saga; and Claudian, of Megæra.*

Whatever the ancients thought of sorcery, it does not appear that they proceeded to such extremities against the unhappy persons thought guilty of it, as took place one or two centuries ago in most parts of Europe.

"The first impulse given to this species of fanaticism in modern times, commenced by the bull of Pope Innocent VIII., by whom it was issued in 1484 to the inquisitors of Almain, exhorting them to discover, and empowering them to destroy, all such as were guilty of witchcraft. From the time of this superstitious bull the number of executions greatly increased, being chiefly in places where the Waldenses and Protestants were most numerous."†

and the blood, calling them Striges, which Godelman (lib. de Lamiis) would have 'à stridore, et avibus fœdissimis ejusdem nominis,' which I do the rather incline to, out of Ovid's authority, Fast., lib. vi., where the poet ascribes to those birds the same almost that these do to the witches — 'Nocte volant, puerosque petunt nutricis egentes, et vitiant cunis corpora rapta suis; carpere dicentur lactentia viscera rostris, et plenum poto sanguine guttur habent.'"

* For further information on this subject, see Ben Jonson's Works, fol. edit., 1640, vol. i. p. 167.

† Dr. Hutchinson's Hist.

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The historian further adds, "The inquisitors took advantage of this authority: they hunted out and dragged to the torture all suspected persons within their reach, and found, to their infinite delight, that no sooner was one reputed witch destroyed, but, like the heads of the hydra, ten were found in place of one condemned."

It is unnecessary to follow the chronological table given by the doctor. A few instances may suffice.

A. D. 1485, Curnanus, the inquisitor, burnt forty-one women in one year, in the district over which he presided.* Alciat says, "One inquisitor in this year (1486) burnt in Piedmont a hundred witches, and proceeded daily to burn more, till the people rose in a body and drove him out of the country." About 1524, a thousand witches were burnt in one year in the diocese of Como; and nearly one hundred every year, for several years.†

These accusations of witchcraft seem to have originated in the desire of repressing heresy, or, more properly speaking, dissent from the Church of Rome; next, in the means that it afforded to the existing powers to confiscate and appropriate to their own use the property of those unfortunate persons whose wealth was an object of cupidity, or whose principles and opinions did not agree with those of the ruling government. Besides these

* Henry, Instit., pp. 105. 161.

† Bartholomew de Spina, cap. 12.

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motives, the desire that existed in those times of retaining the lower orders in ignorance and bigotry, which usually go hand in hand, ought not to be overlooked. Perhaps nothing more clearly exemplifies the absence of civilisation than the cruel and abominable proceedings taken against the unfortunate persons accused of this crime. The power wielded by the commissioners to try witchcraft, and the terror inspired by the decrees of inquisitors, must have been great in all the nations of Europe.

What an improvement has taken place in society since that day! Any intelligent peasant would now laugh at the doctrine propounded on sorcery by a king of England (James I.), or by a learned judge in his reign, both of whom not only encouraged, but actually occasioned, the burning alive of their fellow-creatures.

In 1597, James, while king of Scotland, published his Treatise on Demonology, in which he says, "The fearful abounding in this country of these detestable slaves of the devil, the witches or enchanters, hath moved me, beloved reader, to despatch in part the following treatise of mine, not in any wise, as I protest, to serve for a shew of my own learning and ingene, but as far as I can to resolve the doubting heart of many." He adds, "Witches ought to be put to death according to the civil and imperial law, and the municipal law of all Christian nations; yea, to spare the life, and

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not strike, and so severely punish, is so odious a treason, as to be not only unlawful, but doubtless as great a sin in the magistrate as was Saul's sparing Agag." He also says, "The crime is so abominable that young children who know not the nature of an oath, or persons of an infamous character, might be witnesses."

As may easily be imagined, the supposed crime of witchcraft increased much in Scotland under such a monarch; and when he had ascended the throne of England, his first parliament, under his sanction and in accordance with his directions, considered the subject of witchcraft; and probably feeling themselves convinced by the learned monarch's treatise, they passed the following act:—

"That if any person shall use, practise, or exercise any conjuration of any wicked or evil spirit, or shall consult, covenant with, or feed any such spirit," &c., for the first offence they were condemned to the pillory and one year's imprisonment, and for the second offence they were put to death.*

A writer of high credit states that he perused a list of three thousand witches who were executed in the time of the Long Parliament alone. In the first eighty years of the seventeenth century, says another writer†, the number of witches executed an-

* D. Z. Gray.

† "Popular Delusions," by Charles Mackay, of whose judicious researches the Author, in several instances, has availed himself in this Chapter.

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nually is estimated at five hundred, making a frightful total of forty thousand! Take an example of the Lancashire witch trial in 1634. "The son of a wood-cutter on the borders of Pendle forest, a boy of idle habits, accused a neighbour, Mrs. Dickenson, of witchcraft; stating this woman had transformed him into a horse, and rode him with the swiftness of the wind over forests, fields, bogs, and rivers, to a large barn, to sup with other witches." On this ridiculous evidence of the wretched urchin, twenty persons were thrown into prison; eight of them, including Mother Dickenson, were condemned and executed. Robinson, the boy's father, gained large sums of money by threatening persons whom he suspected of witchcraft!

In 1644, a man residing at Manningtree, in Essex, named Matthew Hopkins, made himself conspicuous in discovering the devil's mark upon many unhappy old women. He travelled through several counties for that purpose; and, in one year, brought sixty poor creatures to the stake. In this vocation he traversed Norfolk, Essex, Huntingdon, and Sussex.*

Not to repeat too many of these horrible details, it may only be desirable to say, that so lately as 1711, before Chief Justice Powell, the jury found a verdict against an inoffensive woman of "Guilty of conversing with the devil in the shape of a cat!" The accused was condemned to death, but, by the

* Popular Delusions, "Witch Mania."

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exertions of the judge, sentence was not executed. In 1716, a woman and her daughter, the latter of whom was only nine years of age, were found guilty at Huntingdon of selling their souls to the devil, and raising a storm by pulling off their stockings and making a lather of soap: *both were hanged for that offence.*

Sprenger, in Germany, and Bodinus and Delrio, in France, have left but too ample a record of the atrocities committed in the much-abused names of justice and religion. Bodinus, in the seventeenth century, says, "The trial of the offence of witchcraft must not be conducted like other crimes: whoever adheres to the ordinary course of justice perverts the spirit of the law, both divine and human. He who is accused of sorcery should never be acquitted, unless the malice of the prosecutor is clearer than the sun. Henri Boquet, who styled himself the "Grand judge of witches for the territory of St. Claude," drew up a code for the guidance of all persons engaged in witch trials. In this document he affirms, that the mere *suspicion* of witchcraft justifies the immediate arrest *and torture of the suspected person.* In all cases of witchcraft, he adds, like King James, that the evidence of a child ought to be taken against its parent; and persons of notoriously bad character, although not to be believed on their oaths in ordinary occasions of dispute, were to be believed if they swore that

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any person had bewitched them. It appears from these accounts that Cologne for many years burnt three hundred witches annually, — Nuremberg, Geneva, Paris, Toulouse, Lyons, and other cities, two hundred each! Hauber, in his "Acta et Scripta Magica," (vol. ii. c. 5.) says, that there were a great many burnings of witches, *too numerous to specify*. The record he mentions alludes to the city of Würzburg only, not to the province, and contains the names of one hundred and fifty-seven persons which were burned in twenty-nine burnings, averaging five or six at a time! The list comprises three play-actors, four innkeepers, three common-council-men, the barge-master's lady, an apothecary's wife and daughter, and two choristers of the cathedral. At the seventh of these burnings, the victims are described to consist of a wandering boy, twelve years of age, four strange men and women found in the market-place. The thirteenth and fourteenth burnings comprised a girl nine years of age; her sister, still younger; their aunt, and another young woman of twenty-four years of age. At the other burning, two boys of twelve, and a girl of fifteen years old were consumed. At the nineteenth, the young heir of the house of Rotenhahn, aged nine, and two other boys, aged ten and twelve years, suffered fiery torment and death. In 1680, a law passed not merely for the punishment of witches, but of pretenders to witchcraft.

* Popular Delusions, vol. ii. p. 268.

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When we consider the atrocities committed in every part of Europe, not only by the Inquisition, but in those countries where that tribunal was either abolished or had never existed, we shall see that all the cruelties arising from the burning of witches, for heresy, and for other supposed crimes or offences, arose from fanaticism and want of civilisation of the nations of Europe, not from any particular creed or party.

Let us only turn our eyes to the horrid proceedings in this country, — the fires lighted in Smithfield in the punishment of burning alive for witchcraft.

In France, at similar proceedings at the execution of Grandier; in the annihilation of the Knights Templars, with singular cruelty*; of Calas, and of other martyrs in France and Germany, sacrificed at the impious shrine of ignorance and barbarism.

In the early days of the French history, it appears in the "Capitulaire de Baluse" †, that Charlemagne issued an edict against persons supposed guilty of witchcraft, who were to be punished with death. The most violent persecutions were the consequence, both against individuals and communities, whose

* In 1311 the Knights Templars were accused of witchcraft and other crimes; the object of the Government in France was to obtain their wealth. In this year fifty-seven of these knights were burned alive. In 1314 the Grand Master, Molai, Guy, and many others, suffered the same fate. Their wealth went to Clement V., and Philip le Bel, King of France.

† Histoire de la Magie en France, p. 29.

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offences were either difference of religion, *too much wealth*, or political notions. The extermination of the Stedinger in 1234, of the Knights Templars from 1307 to 1313, and the melancholy scenes at Arras in 1459, furnish deplorable evidences of this fatal oppression. The convenience of the accusation for witchcraft in certain cases appears in an interesting account of the republican confederacies of the middle ages.* "The Frieslanders, occupying the district from the Weser to the Zuydersee, were formed into a republic, and were conspicuous for their love of freedom, under the name of the Stedinger. The Count of Oldenburg and the Archbishop of Bremen formed a league against them. A violent contention arose in consequence of the Stedinger refusing to pay taxes to the feudal chiefs, or tithes to the archbishop, and for twenty-eight years a constant state of warfare was the consequence. To settle the business, the archbishop applied to Pope Gregory IX., who, in consequence, launched forth his anathema against them as heretics and sorcerers. A strong party marched against them, who laid waste the country, and destroyed all they met. The Stedinger, however, rallied in great force, routed their invaders, and in this battle Count Buckhardt of Oldenburg, with many other chieftains, lost their lives.

"Again the Pope was applied to; a crusade against

* Dr. F. Kortüm, Hist., 1827.

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the Stedinger was preached over Germany. A letter from his Holiness was sent to the bishops and others, exhorting them to arm and root out those abominable witches and wizards, the Stedinger. In this communication, the Pope averred that these people had given themselves up to the evil spirit, who appeared to them in the shape of a duck or goose, and enveloped them in total darkness." *

In consequence of these letters of the Pope, all Germany was in commotion to exterminate the so-called sorcerers. An army of forty thousand men was collected under the Duke of Brabant, which marched into the country of the Stedinger. The latter bravely stood in defence of their lives and liberties, but could only muster eleven thousand men, including every individual capable of bearing arms. They fought with all the energy of despair. Eight thousand of them lay dead in the field of battle, and the entire race were exterminated. The conquerors would show no mercy to sorcerers who conversed with the evil spirits in the shape of ducks. They scoured the country in all directions; the women, children, and old men, were destroyed; the cattle driven away; the houses burned, and the land converted into a desert.

When the Knights Templars had, by their ostentation, wealth, and power, rendered themselves obnoxious to several monarchs and prelates, many

* Mackay.

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accusations were made, but without causing their utter destruction, until the cry of witchcraft was raised against them. This effected the desired object, and the extirpation of the Templars followed. Here is an account of the transaction: —

"Philip IV. of France, to exercise his own hatred, probably invented most of the charges against the Templars, and issued orders for their immediate arrest in his dominions. The Pope took up the cause with as much fervour as the King of France. In every part of Europe, the Templars were thrown into prison, and their goods and estates confiscated. Hundreds of them were put to the rack, and confessed the most preposterous charges made against them, and by so doing increased the hopes of their enemies. When removed from the rack they denied all they had previously confessed; but this was considered an additional crime; and they were forthwith condemned to the flames. Forty-nine of these unfortunate victims were burnt together near Paris, protesting their innocence to the last moment. Similar scenes took place in the provinces, and for four years scarcely a month passed without the execution of some of these unhappy men. In 1318 the last scene of this tragedy closed by the burning of the Grand Master De Molay, and Guy, the Commander of Normandy.

"Any thing more atrocious it is impossible to conceive: it was alike disgraceful to the monarch who originated, the pope who supported, and the

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age that tolerated so monstrous an iniquity. That the malice of a few could invent such a charge is sufficiently humiliating to the lover of his species; but that it should be credited by millions of mankind seems still more so."*

"When this mania against witchcraft commenced, a race of men sprang up in Europe who made it the sole business of their lives to discover and burn the witches. Sprenger, in Germany, was one of the most active. In his work, the 'Malleus Maleficarum,' he lays down a regular form of trial, and points out a series of examinations by which the inquisitors in other countries might discover the guilty. These questions, which were of a most revolting character, were always enforced by torture. The questions from the Malleus Maleficarum were put to all, and from all, torture never failed to elucidate the same answers.

"Successive commissions to hunt out and destroy sorcerers were issued by Pope Alexander VI. in 1494, one by Leo X. in 1521, and another by Adrian VI. in 1522. All the commissioners were armed with the same power to destroy and root out heresy and sorcery. In Geneva five hundred persons were burned in the years 1515 and 1516, under the denomination of Protestant witches. It appears their chief crime was heresy, and their witchcraft merely an aggravation. One inquisitor, Remigius,

* Harrison's Hist.

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took great credit to himself for having convicted and burned nine hundred in fifteen years."*

In France, about the year 1520, "it is asserted, that fires blazed in every town, and that the burnings were so numerous that it would be impossible to tell the number.†

It having been reported to the king of Sweden that the town of Mohra, in the province of Dalecarlia, was much infested by sorcerers and witches, a commission was appointed to ascertain the fact, with full powers to punish the guilty. On the 12th of August, 1669, the judges arrived at the place, to the great joy of the inhabitants, many of whom fancied themselves bewitched. After an investigation, seventy persons, *including fifteen children*, were taken up on suspicion of sorcery: others also were arrested in the district of Elfdale. These being put to the torture, all confessed their guilt, which was, that at night they were carried up into the air by their incantations. Without repeating all the absurdities extorted by torture, the result was, that the entire seventy were condemned for these offences. Twenty-three of them were burned in one fire, in the town of Mohra, *to the great satisfaction of the multitude assembled!* Next day the fifteen children suffered a like fate! The remaining thirty-two were destroyed in a similar manner, at

* Pop. Delusions, vol. ii. p. 197.

† Danæus, Dialogues on Sorcery.

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the neighbouring town of Fahlerna."* Such was the state of civilisation in Sweden within two centuries!

To repeat all the atrocities committed on the poor creatures accused of sorcery would be as revolting as useless. The rule was, that if any pity was expressed by the father, mother, brother, sister, or other relations of the party found guilty, they must have some concern also with witchcraft. Such seems to have been the dreadful state of France, Germany, and Italy, which became worse in the sixteenth century, and continued for a series of years. What a picture of the state of civilisation! The number of victims to this ignorance and superstition is quite appalling: it is impossible to determine on the amount thus sacrificed. Civilisation was at a low ebb indeed!

Every one knows that the Maréchale D'Ancre was executed at Paris for sorcery in 1617; the evidence against her, as in similar cases, was ridiculous. The fate also of Urban Grandier, the curate of Loudon, for bewitching five or six persons in that town, is well known. Many writers narrate this fact. "Such a charge could not be refuted in 1634, although the accused could make the malice of his prosecutors more clear than the sun. His denial, however intelligent, honest, and straightforward, went for nothing. He was burnt alive, under circumstances of great cruelty."†

* Popular Delus., vol. ii. p. 304. † Bodinus.

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The thousands of men, women, and children that perished in Germany, France, and Italy at the stake, or on the scaffold, for sorcery, exceeds computation.*

To the honour of the then Duke of Brunswick, this superstition was partly destroyed in Germany. "It happened that Frederick Spee, the Jesuit (author of the Cautio Criminalis), was at the Duke's palace, and was about to condemn a woman to be

* In the year 1561 five women of Verneuil were accused of transformg themselves into cats. They were found guilty, and burned alive. — *Bodin*, p. 95.

In 1564, three men and a female were accused and tortured for making a black goat speak. They were all executed at Poictiers. — *Gazinet*, p. 125.

In 1571, the sorcerer called Trois Echelles was burned in Paris before Charles IX., De Retz, and Marshal Montmorency. — *De Serilier*, p. 346.

In 1573, the Count of Dole condemned Gilles Gornier to be burned alive for witchcraft, which was done.

In 1579, the Parliament of Paris condemned and burnt alive Jacques Rollet, for conjuring himself into a wolf and eating children.

The following is one of the most monstrous of all the witch lies: — In Auvergne, in 1588, much excitement was created by a gentleman in hunting being attacked by a wolf, whose fore paw he cut off in the scuffle, and put into his pouch. On returning home he looked for the paw, but found a woman's hand in its place, with a wedding ring, which he recognised to be that of his wife. Going to her in her apartment, and finding she had one arm under a napkin, he took the cloth away, saw she had lost her hand, and that the stump was fresh bleeding. His wife had changed herself into a wolf, *he said*. She was burned at Riom for this sorcery, in presence of some thousand persons. — (*Tablier, Discours sur les Sorciers.*) The absurdity and impudence of falsehood were never more mischievously demonstrated.

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burnt as a witch. The Duke, having given previous instruction to the officiating torturers, proceeded with the Jesuit to hear her confession. The poor creature, in the tempest of her anguish, was induced to confess that she had often attended the sabbath of the fiends on the Brocken, and that she had seen a man there in a black cloak change himself into a goat, a wolf, and other animals. Being asked if she should know the man again, she said she was certain she should: 'I see him now,' added she, and pointed to the Jesuit Spee himself. The Duke led away the astonished Jesuit, shuddering to think what his own fate might have been under other circumstances, if so accused. This story got abroad, and was a convincing proof, even to the besotted people, of the thousands of persons who had suffered unjustly. The number of supposed witches shortly diminished, and the violence of the mania began to subside."* The narrator thus concludes: — "This was the beginning of the dawn of improvement, after the darkness. The tribunals in Germany no longer condemned witches to execution by hundreds in a year. Wurzburgh, the grand theatre of the burnings, burned but one, where a few years before it had burned sixty. From 1600 to 1670 the Electoral Chambers in all parts of Germany commuted the sentence of death passed on witches by the provincial tribunals into

* Popular Delusions.

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imprisonment for life, or burning on the cheek. The Parliament of Normandy, in 1670, condemned a number of persons to death for witchcraft; but the sentence was by superior authority commuted into banishment for life. Thus superstition faded before the improved intelligence of the people.

To come nearer home, and to leave these absurdities committed on the Continent, which make the heart sick, and cause one almost to be ashamed to belong to a class of beings that could act in such a manner.

The strong impetus given in Great Britain towards discovering and executing witches and sorcerers by James I.'s book on Demonology, cannot be doubted. An old writer says, "The King, who was much celebrated for his wisdom, had before his arrival in England examined persons accused of witchcraft, and given a very formal account of the practices and illusions of evil spirits, the compacts of witches, the ceremonies used by them, the manner of detecting them, and the justice of punishing them, in his Dialogues on Demonology.* The ready way to gain King James's favour, was to flatter his speculations; and the system set forth in his Demonology was immediately adopted by all who desired either to gain preferment or not to lose it." Even such a man as Ben Jonson, with

* Two editions of this notable work were printed in Edinburgh, the first in 1597, the second in 1600; the third in London, after his accession to the English throne.

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all his learning and genius, was not above this miserable adulation. No wonder, therefore, the destruction of those unfortunate persons whose age, or poverty, or wealth, or infirmity marked them as fit objects of suspicion, took place.

The popular notion of a witch is admirably given by Ben Jonson in his "Sad Shepherd," where one of the characters is describing to the companions of Robin Hood the occupations of an old sorceress: —

"*Alken.* — You shall find her sitting in her fourm
As fearful and melancholique as that
She is about; with caterpillar's kells,
And knotty cobwebs, rounded in with spells:
Thence she steals forth to relief in the fogs
And rotten mists upon the fens and bogs,
Down to the drownéd lands of Lincolnshire;
To make ewes cast their lambs! swine eat their farrow!
The house-wive's tun not work! nor the milk churn!
Writhe children's wrists! and suck their breath in sleep!
Get vials of their blood! and where the sea
Casts up his slimy ooze, search for a weed
To open locks with, and to rivet charms,
Planted about her in the wicked feat
Of all her mischiefs, which are manifold.

"*George.* — I thought a witch's banks
Had inclosed nothing but the silly pranks
Of some old woman."

Considering that Jonson had written "The Masque of Queenes," of which some specimens have been given in this chapter, demonstrating his real or assumed faith in witchcraft, the above expression of incredulity, put into the mouth of George, is curious. But the Masque was produced in the

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presence of James I.,* and "The Sad Shepherd" was not composed till after the death of that monarch, when our poet was no longer under the necessity of alluding to the nonsense of witchcraft with an appearance of shuddering belief.

From the accession of James I. to the latter end of the seventeenth century, every clause of the abominable statute passed by Parliament, in accorddance with James's work, and to gratify that monarch, was acted upon and enforced with the most severe vigilance; and, "however incredible it may appear, the enormous number of three thousand one hundred and ninety-two individuals were condemned and executed in Great Britain alone, under the accusation of witchcraft, sorcery, or conjuration. The chronological catalogue of these atrocious proceedings gives a detailed account of them.†

Perhaps the most surprising circumstance in all this wretched amount of injustice and folly, is the

* At Whitehall, February 2. 1609.

† Dr. Hutchinson's History of Witchcraft:—In 1612, fifteen persons indicted for witchcraft at Lancaster, twelve executed; 1613, Mary Smith executed at Lynn; 1618, two executed at Lincoln for bewitching Lord Rutland's children; 1622, Edward Fairfax, of Fynton, Knaresborough, six neighbours; 1634, seventeen in Pontefract; 1645, fifteen condemned at Chelmsford; also three score in various parts: *one for keeping a tame frog.*

The examination of Agnes Sampson, accused of sorcery by King James, is given at full length by Glanvil. It is impossible to read greater absurdity.—Vide *Sadduceus Triumphatus*, p. 399. edit. 1726.

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trial at Bury St. Edmunds, before Lord Chief Justice Hale, in 1664, in which this learned and accomplished scholar, and in other respects worthy man, fostered and encouraged these cruel and abominable delusions.* The only excuse ever made is, that he was of a timid disposition, and did not dare to oppose the common sentiment. This proves, however, the state of information, and the slow progress of civilisation; not two centuries have passed, since England was in such a state!

In the Common Council Book of Newcastle mention is made of a petition, dated March 26. 1649, signed by many of the inhabitants, to have all persons

* In 1451 Lord Hungerford was beheaded on the charge of sorcery, for having consulted a well-known conjuror how long Henry VIII. would live. — *Life of Henry VIII., by Lord Herbert.*

In 1562 the Countess of Lennox and four others were condemned for having consulted some wizards how long Queen Elizabeth would live. — *Camden's Elizabeth.*

A female tried at Lancaster during the early part of James I.'s reign accused herself of sorcery, in the vain hope of saving her daughter, who was accused of that crime. The judges, partly, it may be suspected, with a view of flattering the prejudices of the king, exhibited great eagerness for the conviction of the prisoners, who were condemned. — *Cases of Conscience*, p. 78.

Amy Duny and Rose Cullender were indicted at these assizes for witchcraft, before Lord Chief Justice Hale. They were accused of bewitching Susan Chandler, who was ill, and felt a pricking like pins in her stomach; also for causing the fits of five children of Dorothy Dunent. The judge declined to charge the jury, who found them both guilty. They were condemned and executed, declaring their innocence to the last.

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suspected of sorcery apprehended and brought to trial. In consequence of this, the magistrates sent two of their serjeants into Scotland to agree with a witch-finder, who found out witches by pricking them with needles, to come to Newcastle for that purpose, to have twenty shillings a-piece for each witch condemned, and free passage thither and back. When the serjeants brought the man on horseback to town, the magistrates sent their bellman through the streets, giving notice to the people, that if they had any complaint to make against a witch to bring the person forward to be tried by the party mentioned. Thirty women were brought next day to the Town Hall, had needles run into their flesh, and were found guilty. The witch-finder told the magistrate, Col. Hobson, that he knew when women were witches by their looks; and when he pointed to a personable handsome woman, and asserted that she was one, the magistrate said, "Surely this woman is none, and she need not be tried;" but the Scotchman repeated she was, and that he would try her, and presently he ran a pin into her, and set her aside as a guilty person, and a child of the Evil One, and fell to try others, whom he also pronounced to be guilty; but the magistrate proved upon the spot the fallacy of the fellow's trial on the first woman, and then the Scotchman cleared her, and said she was not a child of the Evil One.

It appears by an extract from the registry of the parochial chapelry of St. Andrew's, in Scotland,

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that one man and fifteen women were executed at that time in Newcastle for witchcraft. When the witch-finder had done in Newcastle*, and received his wages, he went into Northumberland to try women, and got three pounds a-piece; but H. Ogle, Esq., a magistrate, laid hold on him, and required bond of him to answer at the sessions. He escaped into Scotland, where he was made prisoner, indicted, arraigned, and condemned for such-like villany exercised in Scotland, and he confessed at the gallows that he had been the death of two hundred and twenty women in England and Scotland, for the gain of twenty shillings a-piece. †

The people of Scotland were not behind their brethren in England; and, according to an author of that day, many thousands were burnt for the crime of witchcraft.‡

From deficiency in the means of communication, and from other causes, perhaps the climate, notions on the prevalence of sorcery were generally received and adopted in Scotland. When James proceeded to bring home his bride, the Princess of Denmark, he arrived at Leith on the 1st May, 1590, having experienced rough weather with a severe storm on the passage. Some persons were accused of raising

* Gardener's England's Grievance, reprinted at Newcastle, 1796.

† Sykes's Local Records. Newcastle, 1824.

‡ Work called "A Candle in the Dark," by Thomas Ady, M.A., 1656.

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this storm to destroy James, and were found guilty.* The fancy for sorcery was very rife in North Britain till a late period.

Under such a monarch as James the delusion could not but gain ground. In Scotland, in 1643, the General Assembly recommended that a standing commission should be issued, composed of any "understanding gentleman or magistrate, to try all the witches, who were stated to have increased enormously of late years." †

* Gellie Duncan, a servant-maid to the bailiff of Tranent, about ten miles from Edinburgh, was accused of raising this storm to destroy James. She was put to the torture, and confessed that she had met two hundred witches, who had a conference with Satan, who said James was the greatest enemy he ever had, and in her torture mentioned several accomplices in raising the storm. Dr. Fian, a schoolmaster at Tranent, was also put to the torture, and was *forced* to confess. James was flattered at the idea of his infernal majesty saying he (James) was the greatest enemy he ever had, and sent for Gellie Duncan, and made her dance before him the same reel that was played by the witches before Satan at their nightly meeting. The result was, that Gellie Duncan, Agnes Sampson, Dr. Fian, Euphemia M'Alzean, and twenty-five others, were found guilty of raising the storm, and were sentenced to be strangled and burnt, which sentence was executed on the 25th of June, 1591. This was a few years before James ascended the throne of England." —*Mackay's Popular Delusions*, vol. ii. p. 228, edit. 1841.

† "Lord Blantyre, at the head of this commission, in 1697, tried five persons on the accusation of a girl named C. Shaw, of Burgurron, aged eleven years, who said they had bewitched her. There was no other evidence but the child. The five were found guilty, and burned at Paisley, on the Green."—(*Preface to Law's Memorials, edited by Sharpe.*) Another and the last trial for witchcraft took place in Caithness

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The principal females accused of sorcery, in Scotland, were Lady Buccleugh of Bronxholme, well known to the reader of Sir Walter Scott, the Countesses of Lothian, of Angus, and of Athol, Lady Kerr, the Countess of Huntley, Euphemia Macalzean, the daughter of Lord Cliftenhall, burnt for raising the tempest against James, and Lady Fairlis. Among the other sex, were Sir Lewis Ballantyne, and the Lord Justice Clerk; also Knox's own secretary, and many others.

The chief promoters of the accusations for sorcery at this time, were James VI., Pope Innocent, Sprenger, Bodinus, and Matthew Hopkins, — a worthy confraternity.

Those persons who disbelieved and wrote against the executions were Wierus in Germany, Pietro d'Apone in Italy, and Reginald Scot in England.

The state of ignorance and superstition in which the communities must have been in all the nations of Europe, where such proceedings could be not only tolerated but sanctioned, is apparent. It may be said that these accusations and punishments were encouraged by the various authori-

in 1718. In spite of the warning he had received that such cases should be tried in the superior courts, the sheriff depute of that county condemned to death an old woman for bewitching the pigs of her neighbours. The poor creature was insane, and actually laughed and clapped her hands at sight of the "bonnie fire" that was to consume her. This was the last execution in Scotland. The Penal Statutes were repealed in 1736.

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ties, either for the sake of keeping under the Protestant doctrines, or to get possession of the property of individuals, and this was probably the case; but the satisfaction testified by the people, and their gross superstition in sanctioning such proceedings, show plainly a deficiency in the requisites for civilisation. As these began to spread themselves, the detestable sentiments that prompted accusations for witchcraft were overthrown. The first attempt to overcome this folly was made by the benevolent firmness of an English judge. In the four succeeding years, to 1694, only eleven persons were tried for sorcery, and every one was acquitted by Holt, Chief Justice. "So changed" says a modern writer, "were the times, that even confession failed to produce conviction, and the absurdities of a disordered imagination sank to their real worth." The decision of Justice Holt had a powerful effect on the minds of the people, in checking the delusion; and at the summer assizes held at Brentwood, in Essex, Chief Justice Parker by his charge still further discountenanced accusations of witchcraft and sorcery.

Address of the Parliament (Court of Justice) of Rouen to the King, in 1670.

"Sire, — Emboldened by the authority which your Majesty has placed in our hands, in the province of Normandy, to try and punish offences, more particularly those of the nature of witchcraft,

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&c., we cannot permit the reprieve of certain persons condemned to death for witchcraft to pass unnoticed. Great horror has been expressed by your predecessors, who have not judged the punishment of perpetual imprisonment sufficiently severe. Your Parliament of Normandy has never, until the present time, found that its practice was different from that of other courts: all the books that treat on this matter cite an infinite number of decrees, condemning witches to be burnt alive, or broken on the wheel, or other such punishments. The following are examples. The decrees of the Parliament of Paris (court of justice), cited by Imbert, in his Judicial Practice, also those cited by Monstrelet in 1459, against the witches of Artois: the decrees of the same Parliament of the 13th Oct. 1753, against Mory le Fief of Saumur, against the Sieur de Beaumont, against François de Bose, against Rousseau and his daughter [here follows a long list of persons burnt for sorcery]. Besides all these, we might recall to your Majesty the decrees of the Parliament of Provence in the case of Gaufrédy, the decrees of the Parliament of Dijon, of the Parliament of Rennes, the example of the punishment of Marshal de Rays, who was burned in 1441 for witchcraft, in presence of the Duke of Britanny: all these examples, Sire, prove that the accusation for witchcraft has always been punished with death by the Parliaments of your kingdom."*

* Popular Delusions, vol. ii. p. 294.

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This long appeal from the Parliament of Rouen to Louis XIV., of which an extract only is given here, was made to obtain his sanction to burn alive a few persons found guilty of witchcraft by that sapient and humane body. ' To the honour of the monarch be it said, he refused to give his sanction to such a proceeding, but commuted the sentence to banishment for life. From that time, the burning of witches was discontinued, and in 1680 the punishment for witchcraft was abrogated. The march of improvement was taking place.

Can any reasonable person be so far deceived as to imagine the requisites for civilisation could, to any extent, really exist in any community where such atrocities as the judicial murders recorded to have taken place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy on unhappy Jews and persons accused of witchcraft, could have been sanctioned by the government or tolerated by the people? In these countries, such acts were committed under the sacred name of religion, and became thereby doubly reprehensible.

No reasonable doubt can exist that the Inquisition was established to check any spirit of inquiry that might arise; to retain the population in ignorance, and also to afford the means of occasionally depriving wealthy or obnoxious individuals of their lives and property, under the colour of heresy or witchcraft. It is far from our intention, and would be foreign to the purpose of

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this work, to enter into further detail than has already been given of the formation or proceedings of this tribunal, or of the consequent state of apathy, ignorance, fanaticism, and folly, that spread like a mist over nearly the entire of Southern Europe, where it extended its baneful influence. Our purpose, in again alluding to the Inquisition, is to show the total deficiency of the elements of civilisation in those countries where it was allowed, not merely to take root, but to grow into maturity; to cover the land, and to reduce the populations of Spain, Portugal, and Italy to that degraded state from which they are now, let us hope, fast emerging.*

Attempts were made by the See of Rome to introduce the Inquisition into Great Britain under Mary, when the "Roman Pontiff was more revered here than in most other parts of Europe." Bishop Burnet observes, "The justices of the peace were now every where so slack in the prosecution of heretics, that it seemed necessary to find out other tools, so the courts of the Inquisition were thought on." At this time* both the Pope

* "The Inquisition was not only in itself the scourge of those states which had the weakness to adopt it, but its baneful influence poisoned and corrupted the minds of men in those which even resisted its entrance. The Inquisition assumed the right of judging — 1. heretics; 2. those suspected of heresy; 3. their abettors, protectors, and all who favoured them in any manner whatever; 4. magicians, sorcerers, enchanters, and all who made a profession of witchcraft; 5. blasphemers; 6. those accused of resisting the officers of the Inquisition, or who impeded its authority. — *Hist. of Inquisition*, 4to., book vi.

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and King Philip, though they differed in other things, agreed in this,—that this tribunal was the only sure means for extirpating heresy; so a commission was given to Bonner and twenty more (the greater part laymen) to search over England for all suspected of heresy, or who did not hear mass. They were authorised (three being a quorum) to proceed either by presentments or other politic ways. Many other commissions subordinate to theirs were issued out for several counties and dioceses. This was looked on as such an advance in favour of the Inquisition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried on vigorously in some few places, but coolly in most parts, for the *dislike* of them (an odd expression in the old historian) grew to be almost universal.†

"This iniquitous tribunal favoured every species of public abuse, and was satisfied with mere external conduct, without caring about the real sentiments of the individuals. It was the source of a thousand abominable profanations, charges of witchcraft among the rest. Licentiousness and debauchery were carried to the utmost excess in all those countries where this jurisdiction was extended, and religion and virtue consisted only in the hypocritical assumption of them."‡

* 1557.

† Church Hist. of England.

‡ La Clede, vol. i.

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Look at the difference in the present state of society, and what it was in the time of James I. What would be thought in the community at present if a person were seriously accused of sorcery? What would be thought, were the laws still in force, if any human being was condemned to the stake for such an offence? Would it be allowed and passively permitted, as was the case in this land only a century and a half ago? Would not public opinion raise its all-powerful voice, and prevent such a gross abuse of law, sense, humanity, and justice? Did it do so at the former period? Was a word said on the subject? This difference in the public sentiment demonstrates the progress of civilisation.

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CHAPTER IV.

INFLUENCE OF CIVILISATION ON SOCIAL LIFE.

Several Stages of Civilisation. — Savage Life. — Migratory Tribes. — Nations of Shepherds. — Desperate Struggles for Existence among Barbarous Tribes. — Ravage of the Roman Empire. — Tide of Emigration. — Mahometan Tartars. — Usbecks and Turkmans. — Pastoral Tribes of the North. — Misery attendant on want of Civilisation.

In the Introduction to this work allusion was made to the several stages of civilisation, as they passed through every part of the globe, from the savage state to that which is now spreading itself in every direction. It will be remembered that these stages were the savage, the pastoral, the partially agricultural, the feudal, the despotic, and, the fifth and last, in which security of person and property is firmly established by a just and complete administration of good laws, and when public opinion has the greatest influence.

The sufferings of savage life, of pastoral tribes, and even of those people who partially cultivated the earth, were most severe. To show the advance of happiness in all populations where civilisation has been spread, a few instances of human existence in the former stages may suffice, — instances taken from sources whose accurate reports cannot be

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doubted. Let us look at the condition of savage tribes, as stated by those who have visited them. The mind revolts from contemplating the barbarism of the people in Van Diemen's Land. Their whole time is spent in search of food; and as their woods yield them few or no supplies of animals, and but little vegetable diet, their principal occupation is that of climbing the rocks, or roving along the margin of the sea, in search of a precarious meal of fish, which, during the tempestuous season, they often seek in vain. Their stature seldom exceeds five feet; their bellies are protuberant, with high shoulders, large heads, and limbs disproportionably slender. Their countenances exhibit the extreme of wretchedness, a horrid mixture of famine and ferocity; and their attenuated and diseased figures plainly indicate the want of wholesome nourishment. Some of these unhappy beings have been found on the shores in the last stage of famine.*

In the same scale of human beings we may place the inhabitants of New Holland, of a part of whom we have some accounts that may be depended upon, from a person who resided a considerable time at Port Jackson, and had frequent opportunities of being a witness to their habits and manners. The narrator of Captain Cook's first

* Symes' Embassy to Ava, ch. i. p. 129., and Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 401.

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voyage having mentioned the very small number of inhabitants that were seen on the eastern coast of New Holland, and the apparent inability of the country, from its desolate state, to support many more, observes: "By what means the inhabitants of this country are reduced to such a number as it can subsist, is not, perhaps, very easy to guess: whether, like the inhabitants of New Zealand, they are destroyed by the hands of each other in contests for food, whether they are swept off by accidental famine, or whether there is any cause that prevents the increase of the species, must be left for future adventurers to determine." *

The account which a writer has given of these savages is as follows: They are in general neither tall nor well made. Their arms, legs, and thighs are thin, which is ascribed to the poorness of their mode of living. Those who inhabit the sea coast depend almost entirely on fish for their sustenance, relieved occasionally by a repast on some large grubs which are found in the body of the dwarf gum tree. The very scanty stock of animals in the woods, and the very great labour necessary to take them, keep the inland natives in as poor a condition as their brethren on the coast. They are compelled to climb the tallest trees after honey and the smaller animals, such as the flying squirrel and the opossum. When the stems are of

* Cook's First Voy., vol. iii. p. 240.

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great height, and without branches, which is generally the case in thick forests, this is a process of great labour, and is effected by cutting a notch with their stone hatchets for each foot successively, while their left arm embraces the tree. Trees were observed notched in this manner to the height of eighty feet before the first branch, where the hungry savage could hope to meet with any reward for so much toil.*

The woods, exclusive of the animals occasionally found in them, afford but little sustenance. A few berries, the yam, the fern root, and the flowers of the different Banksias, make up the whole of the vegetable catalogue.

A native with his child, surprised on the banks of the Hawksbury river by some of our colonists, launched his canoe in a hurry, and left behind him a specimen of his food, and of the delicacy of his stomach. From a piece of water-soaken wood, full of holes, he had been extracting and eating a large worm. The smell both of the worm and its habitation was in the highest degree offensive. These worms, in the language of the country, are called cah-bro; and a tribe of natives dwelling inland, from the circumstance of eating these loathsome worms, is named Cah-brogal. The wood natives also make a paste formed of the fern root, and the

* Collins's Account of New South Wales, Appendix, p. 549. 4to.

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large and small ants bruised together, and, in the season, add the eggs of this insect.*

In a country, the inhabitants of which are driven to such resources for subsistence, where the supply of animal and vegetable food is so extremely scanty, and the labour necessary to procure it so severe, it is evident that the population must be very thinly scattered in proportion to the territory. But when we advert to the strange and barbarous customs of these people, the cruel treatment of their women, and the difficulty of rearing children; instead of being surprised that it does not more frequently press to pass these bounds, we shall be rather inclined to consider even these scanty resources as more than sufficient to support all the population that could grow up under such circumstances.

The prelude to marriages in this country is violence, and of the most brutal nature. The savage selects his intended wife from the women of a different tribe, generally one at enmity with his own. He steals upon her in the absence of her protectors, and having first stupified her with blows of a club, or wooden sword, on the head, back, and shoulders, every one of which is followed by a stream of blood, he drags her through the woods by one arm, regardless of the stones and broken pieces of trees that may lie in his route, and anxious only to con-

* Collins's Account of New South Wales, Appendix, p. 558.

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vey his prize in safety to his own party. The woman thus treated becomes his wife, and is incorporated into the tribe to which he belongs, and but seldom quits him for another. The outrage is not resented by the relations of the female, who only retaliate by a similar outrage when it is in their power.

The conduct of the husband to his wife, or wives, seems to be nearly in character with this strange and barbarous mode of courtship. The females bear on their heads the traces of the superiority of the males, which is exercised almost as soon as they find strength in their arms to inflict a blow. Some of these unfortunate beings have been observed with more scars on their shorn heads cut in every direction, than could well be counted. The same traveller feelingly says, "The condition of these women is so wretched, that I have often, on seeing a female child borne on its mother's shoulders, anticipated the miseries to which it was born, and thought it would be a mercy to destroy it."

If the mother of a sucking child die, the helpless infant is buried alive in the same grave with its parent. The father himself places his living child on the body of his dead wife, and having thrown a large stone upon it, the grave is instantly filled up by the other natives. This dreadful act was performed by Co-le-be, a native well known to our colonists, and who, on being talked to on the subject, justified the proceeding, by declaring that no woman could

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be found who would undertake to nurse the child, and that therefore it must have died a much worse death than that which he had given it. Mr. Collins had reason to believe that this custom was generally prevalent.*

"In that part of savage life where a great degree of equality exists, the difficulty of procuring food, and the hardships of incessant wars, create a degree of labour, not inferior to that which is exerted by the lower classes of the people in civilised society, though much more unequally divided. But though we may compare the labour of these two classes of human society, their privations and sufferings will admit of no comparison. Every thing that can contribute to teach the most unmoved patience under the severest pains and misfortune; every thing that tends to harden the heart, and narrow all the sources of sympathy, is most sedulously inculcated on the savage. The civilised man, on the contrary, though he may be advised to bear evil with patience when it comes, is not instructed to be always expecting it. Other virtues are to be called into account, besides fortitude. He is taught to feel for his neighbour, or even his enemy, in distress; to encourage and expand his social affections; and, in general, to enlarge the sphere of pleasurable emotions. The obvious inference from these two different modes of education is, that the civilised

* Collins's Account of New South Wales, Appendix.

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man hopes to enjoy, the savage expects only to suffer." "He" (the Indian), says a modern author, "relies upon chance each day for his food. If successful, he gorges; sometimes he fasts; to-morrow never enters into his head; and whenever, and as often as he possibly can, he gets thoroughly drunk. A rooted antipathy to every sort of labour, together with his wandering habits, have hitherto set at defiance all efforts to reclaim his race." *

Enough has probably been said of existence in the savage state: let us now proceed to that exemplified in the early pastoral state; and here the author thinks it right to avow, that he has availed himself of some of the masterly arguments of the well-known author of the "Essay on Population."

The migratory disposition of the tribes who were possessed of herds, and the necessity by which they were prompted, is of very ancient date. Even between the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot there was a strife on account of deficiency in the food for cattle, which would not allow them to dwell together. Abraham proposed to Lot to separate. "Is not the whole land before thee? If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." †

This simple observation and proposal is a striking

* Head's North America, p. 76.
† Genesis, ch. xiii.

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illustration of that great spring of action which overspread the whole earth with people; and, in process of time, drove some of the less fortunate inhabitants of the globe, yielding to irresistible pressure, to seek a scanty subsistence in the burning deserts of Asia and Africa, and the frozen regions of Siberia and North America. The first migrations would naturally find no other obstacles than the nature of the country; but when a considerable part of the earth had been peopled, though but thinly, the possessors of these districts would not yield them to others without a struggle; and the redundant inhabitants of any of the more central spots could not find room for themselves without expelling their nearest neighbours, or at least passing through their territories, which would necessarily give occasion to frequent contests.

The middle latitudes of Europe and Asia seem to have been occupied at an early period of history by nations of shepherds. Thucydides gave it as his opinion, that Europe and Asia, in his time, could not resist the Scythians united. Yet a country in pasture cannot possibly support so many inhabitants as a country in tillage. What rendered the nations of shepherds so formidable, was the power they possessed of moving all together, and the necessity they frequently felt of exerting this power in search of fresh pasture for their herds. In a tribe rich in cattle, the women live in greater ease than among nations of hunters. The men,

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bold in their united strength, and confiding in their power of procuring pasture for their cattle by change of place, feel probably but few fears about providing for a family. These combined causes soon produce their natural and invariable effect: a more frequent and rapid change of place then becomes necessary. A wider and more extensive territory is successively occupied. A broader desolation extends all around them. Want pinches the less fortunate members of the society; and at length the impossibility of supporting such a number together becomes too evident to be resisted. Young scions are then pushed out from the parent stock, and instructed to explore fresh regions, and to gain happier seats for themselves by their swords.

"The world is all before them where to choose."

Restless from present distress, flushed with the hope of fairer prospects, and animated with the spirit of hardy enterprise, these daring adventurers are likely to become formidable adversaries to all who oppose them. The inhabitants of countries engaged in the peaceful occupations of agriculture, would not often be able to resist the energy of men acting under such powerful motives of exertion. And the frequent contests with tribes, in the same circumstances with themselves, would be so many struggles for existence, and would be fought with a desperate courage, inspired by the reflection, that

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death would be the punishment of defeat, and life the prize of victory.

In these savage contests, many tribes must have been utterly exterminated. Many probably perished by hardships and famine. Others, whose leading star had given them a happier direction, became great and powerful tribes, and in their turn sent off fresh adventurers in search of other seats. These would at first owe allegiance to their parent tribe; but in a short time the ties that bound them would be little felt, and they would remain friends, or become enemies, according as their power, their ambition, or their convenience might dictate.

The prodigious waste and hardships of human life, occasioned by this perpetual struggle for room and food, is evident, by the mighty power of population acting in some degree unshackled, from the constant habit of migration. A prevailing hope of bettering their condition by change of place,—a constant expectation of plunder,—a power even, if distressed, of selling their children as slaves,—added to the natural carelessness of the barbaric character,—would all conspire to raise a population, which would remain to be repressed afterwards by famine or war.

The tribes that possessed themselves of the more fruitful regions, though they might win and maintain them by continual battles, at length occupied the whole territory from the confines of China to the shores of the Baltic. These regions were

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peopled by a various race of barbarians, brave, robust, and enterprising, inured to hardships, and delighting in war.* While the different populations of Europe and Asia, by superior population and superior skill, were able to oppose an impenetrable barrier to their destroying hordes, they wasted their superfluous numbers in contests with each other; but the moment that the weakness of the settled governments, or the casual union of many of these wandering tribes, gave them the ascendant in power, the storm discharged itself on the fairest provinces of the earth; and China, Persia, Egypt, and Italy, were overwhelmed at different periods in this flood of barbarism. These remarks are strongly exemplified in the fall of the Roman Empire. The shepherds of the north of Europe were long held in check by the vigour of the Roman arms, and the terror of the Roman name. The formidable irruption of the Cimbri in search of new settlements, though signalised by the destruction of five consular armies, was at length arrested in its victorious career by Marius; and the barbarians were taught to repent their

* The various branchings, divisions, and contests of the great Tartar nation are curiously described in the genealogical history of the Tartars by the Khan Abul Ghazi (translated into English from the French, with additions, 2 vols. 8vo.); but the misfortune of all history is, that while the motives of a few princes and leaders, in their various projects of ambition, are sometimes detailed with accuracy, the motives which often crowd their standards with willing followers are totally overlooked.

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rashness by the almost complete extermination of this powerful colony.* The names of Julius Cæsar, of Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, impressed on their minds by the slaughter of their countrymen, continued to inspire them with a fear of encroaching on the Roman territory. But they were rather triumphed over than vanquished†; and though the armies or colonies which they sent forth were either cut off or forced back into their original seats, the vigour of the great German nation remained unimpaired, and ready to pour forth her hardy sons in constant succession, wherever they could force an opening for themselves by their swords. The feeble reigns of Decius, Gallus, Æmilianus, Valerian, and Gallienus, afforded such an opening, and were in consequence marked by a general irruption of barbarians. The Goths, who were supposed to have migrated in the course of some years from Scandinavia to the Euxine, were bribed to withdraw their victorious troops by an annual tribute. But no sooner was the dangerous secret of the wealth and weakness of the Roman Empire thus revealed to the world, than new swarms of barbarians spread devastation through the frontier provinces, and terror as far as the gates of Rome.‡ The Franks, the Alemanni, the Goths, and adventurers of less considerable tribes comprehended under these ge-

* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, f. 37. † Id.

‡ Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. c. x. p. 407. et seq. 8vo. edit. 1783.

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neral appellations, poured like a torrent on different parts of the empire. Rapine and oppression destroyed the produce of the present and the hope of future harvests. A long and general famine was followed by a wasting plague, which for fifteen years ravaged every city and province of the Roman Empire; and, judging from the mortality in some spots, it was conjectured that in a few years, war, pestilence, and famine, had consumed the moiety of the human species.* Yet the tide of emigration still continued at intervals to roll impetuously from the north, and the succession of martial princes, who repaired the misfortunes of their predecessors, and propped the falling fate of the empire, had to accomplish the labours of Hercules in freeing the Roman territory from these barbarous invaders. The Goths, who, in the year 250 and the following years, ravaged the empire both by sea and land with various success, but in the end with the almost total loss of their adventurous bands†, in the year 269 sent out an emigration of immense numbers, with their wives and families, for the purposes of settlement.‡ This formidable body, which was said to consist at first of 320,000 barbarians§, was ultimately destroyed and dispersed by the vigour and wisdom of the emperor Claudius. His successor,

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. c. x. p. 407. et seq. 8vo. edit. 1783.

‡ Id. vol. i. c. x. p. 431. § Id. vol. ii. c. xi. p. 13.

§ Id. p. 11.

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Aurelian, encountered and vanquished new hosts of the same name, that had quitted their settlements in the Ukraine; but one of the implied conditions of the peace was, that he should withdraw the Roman forces from Dacia, and relinquish this great province to the Goths and Vandals.* A new and most formidable invasion of the Alemanni threatened soon after to sack the mistress of the world, and three great and bloody battles were fought by Aurelian before this destroying host could be exterminated, and Italy be delivered from its ravages.†

The deliverance of Gaul alone from German invaders is reported to have cost the lives of four hundred thousand barbarians.‡ The victorious emperor pursued his successes into Germany itself; and the princes of the country, astonished at his presence, and dismayed and exhausted by the ill success of their last emigration, submitted to any terms that the conquerors might impose.§ Probus, and afterwards Diocletian‖, adopted the plan of recruiting the exhausted provinces of the empire by granting lands to the fugitive or captive barbarians, and disposing of their superfluous numbers where they might be the least likely to be dangerous to the state; but such colonisations were an insufficient vent for the population of the north, and the

* Gibbon, vol. i. c. x. p. 19. A. D. 270. † Id. p. 26.
‡ Id. vol. ii. c. xii. p. 75. § Id. vol. ii. p. 79. A. D. 277.
‖ Id. c. xiii. p. 132. A. D. 296.

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ardent temper of the barbarians would not always bend to the slow labours of agriculture.* During the vigorous reign of Diocletian, unable to make an effectual impression on the Roman frontiers, the Goths, the Vandals, the Gepidæ, the Burgundians, and the Alemanni, wasted each other's strength by mutual hostilities, while the subjects of the empire enjoyed the bloody spectacle, conscious, that whoever vanquished, they vanquished the enemies of Rome.

Under the reign of Constantine the Goths were again formidable. Their strength had been restored by a long peace, and a new generation had arisen, which no longer remembered the misfortunes of ancient days. In two successive wars great numbers of them were slain. Vanquished on every side, they were driven into the mountains; and, in the course of a severe campaign, above a hundred thousand were computed to have perished by cold and hunger. Constantine adopted the plan of Probus and his successors, in granting lands to those suppliant barbarians who were expelled from their own country. Towards the end of his reign, a competent portion in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy, was assigned for the habitation and subsistence of three hundred thousand Sarmatians.†

The Mahometan Tartars, who inhabit the west-

* Gibbon, vol. ii. c. xii. p. 84. † Id. A. D. 322.

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ern parts of Grand Tartary, cultivate some of their lands, but in so slovenly and insufficient a manner as not to afford a principal source of subsistence.* The slothful and warlike genius of the barbarian every where prevails, and he does not easily reconcile himself to the acquiring by labour what he can hope to acquire by rapine. When the annals of Tartary are not marked by any signal wars and revolutions, its domestic peace and industry are constantly interrupted by petty contests, and mutual invasions for the sake of plunder. The Mahometan Tartars are said to live almost entirely by robbing and preying upon their neighbours, as well in peace as in war.†

The Usbecks, who possess as masters the kingdom of Chowarasm, leave to their tributary subjects, the Sarts and Turkmans, the finest pastures of their country, merely because their neighbours on that side are too poor or too vigilant to give them hopes of successful plunder. Rapine is their principal resource. They are perpetually making incursions into the territories of the Persians, and of the Usbecks of Great Bucharia; and neither peace nor truce can restrain them, as the slaves and other valuable effects which they carry off form the whole of their riches. The Usbecks and their subjects the Turkmans are perpetually at variance; and their jealousies, fomented often by the princes of the

* Geneal. Hist. Tart. vol. ii. p. 382. † Id. p. 390.

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reigning house, keep the country in a constant state of intestine commotion.* The Turkmans are always at war with the Curds and the Arabs, who often come and break the horns of their herds, and carry away their wives and daughters.†

The Usbecks of Great Bucharia are reckoned the most civilised of all the Mahometan Tartars, yet are not much inferior to the rest in their spirit of rapine.‡ They are always at war with the Persians, and laying waste the fine plains of the province of Chorasan. Though the country which they possess is of the greatest natural fertility, and some of the remains of the ancient inhabitants practise the peaceful arts of trade and agriculture; yet neither the aptitude of the soil, nor the example which they have before them, can induce them to change their ancient habits; and they would rather pillage, rob, and kill their neighbours, than apply themselves to improve the benefits which nature so liberally offers them.§

The Tartars of the Casatshia Orda in Turkestan live in a state of continual warfare with their neighbours to the north and east. In the winter they make their incursions towards the Kalmucks, who, about that time, go to scour the frontiers of Great Bucharia, and the parts to the south of their country. On the other side, they perpetually incommode the Cosacks of the Yaik, and the Nogai

* Geneal. Hist. Tart. vol. ii. p. 430, 431.
† Id. p. 426. ‡ Id. p. 455. § Id. p. 459.

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Tartars. In the summer, they cross the mountains of Eagles, and make inroads into Siberia. And though they are often very ill-treated in these incursions, and the whole of their plunder is not equivalent to what they might obtain with very little labour from their lands, yet they choose rather to expose themselves to the thousand fatigues and dangers necessarily attendant on such a life, than apply themselves seriously to agriculture.*

The mode of life among the other tribes of Mahometan Tartars presents the same uniform picture, which it would be tiresome to repeat, and for which therefore we refer the reader to the Genealogical History of the Tartars, and its valuable notes. The conduct of the author of this history, himself a Chan of Chowarasm, affords a curious example of the savage manner in which the wars of policy, of revenge, or plunder, are carried on in these countries. His invasions of Great Bucharia were frequent, and each expedition was signalised by the ravage of provinces, and the utter ruin and destruction of towns and villages. When at any time the number of his prisoners impeded his motions, he made no scruple to kill them on the spot. Wishing to reduce the power of the Turkmans, who were tributary to him, he invited all the principal people to a solemn feast,

* Hist. Tart. vol. ii. p. 573, et seq.

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and had them massacred to the number of two thousand. He burnt and destroyed their villages with the most unsparing cruelty, and committed such devastations, that the effect of them returned on their authors, and the army of the victors suffered severely from dearth. *

The Mahometan Tartars in general hate trade, and make it their business to spoil all the merchants who fall into their hands. † The only commerce that is countenanced is the commerce in slaves. These form a principal part of the booty which they carry off in their predatory incursions, and are considered as a chief source of their riches. Those which they have occasion for themselves, either for the attendance on their herds, or as wives and concubines, they keep, and the rest they sell. ‡ The Circassian and Daghestan Tartars, and the other tribes in the neighbourhood of Caucasus, living in a poor and mountainous country, and on that account less subject to invasion, when they cannot obtain slaves in the common way, steal from one another, and even sell their own wives and children. This trade in slaves, so general among the Mahometan Tartars, may be one of the causes of their constant wars; as, when a prospect of a plentiful supply for this kind of traffic offers itself, neither peace nor alliance can restrain them.

* Hist. Tart. vol. i. c. xii.
† Id. vol. ii. p. 412.
‡ Id. p. 413.

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When blood is shed, more must expiate it; and as such accidents have multiplied in the lapse of years, the greatest part of the tribes have quarrels between them, and live in a state of perpetual hostility. In the times which preceded Mahomet, seventeen hundred battles are recorded by tradition; and a partial truce of two months, which was religiously kept, might be considered, according to a just remark of Gibbon, as still more strongly expressive of their general habits of anarchy and warfare.

The waste, and misery, and hardships of life, from such habits, might alone appear sufficient to repress their population; but probably their effect is still greater in the fatal check which they give to every species of industry, and particularly to that, the object of which is to enlarge the means of subsistence. Even the construction of a well, or a reservoir of water, requires some funds and labour in advance; and war may destroy in one day the work of many months, and the resources of a whole year.

The pastoral state seems to have decreased in proportion as the cultivation of the soil became more general, and a fixed property in land was established. The pastoral tribes of the North were those by which the southern parts of Europe were over-run and conquered. Their means of moving large bodies of persons seems to have been assisted by their habits of migration: the entire population

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and property of the tribe could pour itself like a torrent on a more genial soil, enjoying a milder climate, or one more favourable to produce the necessaries of life.* The German tribes mentioned by Tacitus, and some who opposed Cæsar in his wars, when he combated the Gauls, appear to have been of this description†; they are also ge-

* "The limits to the population of a country strictly pastoral are strikingly obvious. There are no grounds less susceptible of improvement than mountainous pasture. They must necessarily be left chiefly to nature; and when they have been adequately stocked with cattle, little more can be done." Again, "The pastoral tribes of Asia, by living in tents and moveable huts instead of fixed habitations, are still less connected with their territory than the shepherds of the north of Europe. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. When the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe makes a regular march to fresh pastures. In the summer it advances towards the north, in the winter returns again to the south. Such habits would strongly tend to diffuse, amongst these wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. In all their invasions, but more particularly when directed against the empires of the South, the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a most savage and destructive spirit. In reading the devastations of the human race in those times, when the slightest portion of caprice or convenience often involved a whole people in indiscriminate massacre, instead of looking for the causes which prevented a further progress in population, we can only be astonished at the force of that principle of increase which could furnish fresh harvests of human beings, for the scythe of each successive conqueror."—*Malthus on Population*, b. i. chap. vii.

† Although by the law of England personal property is considered as not only inferior to freehold, but of a more modern date, it may be a question whether personal property, such as cattle or herds, in pastoral tribes, was not antecedent to fixed

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nerally mentioned in still earlier days, and from higher authority.

To enter into the uncertainty of tenure, in the cultivators of the land, and their abject state of slavery, vassalage, or villainage, would be recapitulating what has already been said in reference to the middle ages, and to the system of incessant warfare, extortion, violence, and rapine, that has disgraced the history of the world, from those days, even to a later period, within less than a century.

It has been our anxious desire not to overstate, in any manner, the situation of nations and communities of former ages. In fact, such an attempt, if made, must be fruitless. The page of history is open to all; the records of by-gone days cannot be falsified; and it must be allowed that, until of late years, the condition of mankind was deplorable, and dissimilar to its present state.

property in land, in which case, personal property would be of greater antiquity than freehold.

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CHAPTER V.

CIVILISATION IN REFERENCE TO THE SEVERAL CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

Evils and Benefits of Civilisation. — Present and past Times. — Protection of dumb Animals. — Imprudent Marriages. — Excessive Anxiety for Gain. — Evils of Over-trading. — Danger of long Credit. — Health of Towns. — Interment of the Dead among the Living. — Famines and Plagues.

It seems almost an axiom in reference to any improvements that may be made in the state of society, that no benefit can be conferred on the many, without loss to the few. In the progress of civilisation, it cannot be denied that some drawbacks may arise, some inconvenience be suffered, and even some positive injury be inflicted. We may, however, fearlessly repeat, that the advantages or benefits gained by mankind through civilisation, infinitely surpass any of the inflictions suffered. Let us, however, fairly state a few of those drawbacks to which allusion is made. It may be urged, that disease, poverty, crime, and misery, haunt even those communities which have made the greatest advances in improvement: this is true, but are not these inflictions on humanity found in a tenfold, in

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a hundredfold degree more in uncivilised states? Some of the arguments in the preceding pages may answer the question. Let us, however, proceed in the inquiry.

With all the advantages arising to a nation from the acquisition of wealth, a spirit may be engendered hostile to the finer emotions of the heart. Enthusiasm for general good, and sympathy with individual suffering, may be superseded by indiscriminate homage to opulence; and love of gain may lead to acts selfish or unjust. That such predilections are blemishes in the moral character of a people, cannot be denied; and it also is obvious that genius, virtue, disinterestedness, and self-devotion are less appreciated than formerly. Allowing, however, for this lamentable truth, it may be affirmed that the mass of mankind are vastly benefited by the onward march of civilisation. Sentiments just enumerated may exist, and probably are common, in the present state of society; but they are more tolerable than those passions of overweening pride, cruelty, injustice, or desire to enslave others, so prevalent in bygone ages. The most superficial observer of the manners of bygone days must perceive how differently human beings in the inferior grades of society were then looked on from the manner in which they are considered at present. What slight value was then placed on the life of a poor forlorn uneducated fellow-creature!—what an opposite feeling exists in the present day! Every

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act of injustice, every deed likely to injure the health or life of the humblest of our species, is scrutinised with jealous attention by the community. It seems, therefore, not going too far to conclude that much has been gained in sentiments of benevolence and to extended charity by the march of civilisation. This solicitude in the present century has extended even to the animal creation, and been evidenced in a more kind treatment of the various brute animals by the lower class. The protection of these helpless creatures has even become the law of the land; and societies for enforcing legislative enactments have been established and supported, not only by respectable and influential individuals, but by the voice of public opinion. What a change! Two centuries only are passed, since the welfare even of human beings was overlooked; and now that of dumb animals is carefully considered.

We have already said, that the apprehension of sinking from one class to another will prevent parties from entering into the married state. The most cursory view of society in this country must convince us, that throughout all ranks this apprehension prevails in a considerable degree. When the fortune is large, these considerations are certainly trivial; but a preventive foresight of this kind has objects of much greater weight for its contemplation as we go lower.

A man of liberal education, with an income only just sufficient to enable him to associate in the rank

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of gentlemen, must feel absolutely certain, that, if he marry and have a family, he may be obliged to give up many of his former connections. The woman that a man of education would naturally make the object of his choice, is one brought up in the same habits and sentiments with himself, and used to the familiar intercourse of a society totally different from that to which she might be reduced by marriage. Can a man easily consent to place the object of his affection in a situation so discordant, probably, to her habits and inclinations? Two or three steps of descent in society, particularly at this round of the ladder, where education ends and ignorance begins, will not be considered by the generality of people as a chimerical, but as a real evil. If society be desirable, it surely must be free, equal, and reciprocal, where benefits are conferred as well as received, and not such as the dependent finds with his patron, or the poor with the rich.*

These considerations certainly prevent many in the middle rank of life from following the bent of their inclinations in an early attachment. Others, influenced either by a stronger passion or a weaker judgment, disregard these considerations; and it would be hard indeed, if the gratification of so delightful a passion as virtuous love did not sometimes more than counterbalance all its attendant evils. But it must be acknowledged, that the more general

* Paley.

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consequences of such marriages are rather calculated to justify than to disappoint the forebodings of the prudent.

The sons of tradesmen and farmers are exhorted not to marry, and generally find it necessary to comply with this advice, till they are settled in some business or farm, which may enable them to support a family. These results may not perhaps occur till they are far advanced in life.

Servants who live in the families of the rich ought to have restraints yet stronger to break through in venturing upon marriage. They possess the necessaries, and even the comforts of life, almost in as great plenty as their masters. Their work is easy and their food luxurious, compared with the work and food of labourers; and their sense of dependence is weakened by the conscious power of changing their masters if they dislike their situation. Thus comfortably placed at present, what are their prospects if they marry? Without knowledge or capital, either for trade or farming, and unused and therefore unable to earn a subsistence by daily labour, their only refuge seems to be the keeping a miserable alehouse, which certainly offers no very enchanting prospect of a happy evening to their lives.

All this most unquestionably is true, and much regret does it occasion; but is the facility for marriage, without entailing misery or poverty, greater in a barbarous state, than in a community little ad-

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vanced in civilisation? Certainly not. The wretchedness and misery entailed on human nature in savage life is most appalling. In an informed state of society, man has information sufficient to reflect, and not entail poverty on himself or his offspring: in an uninformed or barbarous state man is heedless, cares only for the present hour, and, regardless of their fate, leaves his children and descendants to take their chance. This state of things has been so well considered by a most able writer on the subject, that it will be best exhibited in his words:—

"Man, from the superiority in his reasoning faculties, is enabled to calculate distant consequences. He cannot look around him, and see the distress which frequently presses upon those who have large families; he cannot contemplate his present possessions or earnings, which he now nearly consumes himself, and calculate the amount of each share, when with very little addition they must be divided, perhaps, among seven or eight, without feeling a doubt whether, if he follow the bent of his inclinations, he may be able to support the offspring which he will probably bring into the world. In a state of equality, if such can exist, this would be the simple question. In the present state of society other considerations occur. Will he not lower his rank in life, and be obliged to give up, in great measure, his former habits? Does any mode of employment present itself by which he may reasonably hope to maintain a family? Will he not, at

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any rate, subject himself to greater difficulties, and more severe labour, than in his single state? Will he not be unable to transmit to his children the same advantages of education and improvement that he had himself possessed? Does he even feel secure that, should he have a large family, his utmost exertions can save them from rags and squalid poverty, and their consequent degradation in the community? And may he not be reduced to the grating necessity of forfeiting his independence, and of being obliged to the sparing hand of charity for support?

"These considerations are calculated to prevent, and certainly do prevent, a great number of persons in all civilised nations from pursuing the dictate of nature in an early attachment to one woman." *

It seems quite evident, that this check to marriage, until some provision can be made for the support of a family, has not been general throughout the world in former times. If this caution be not observed, it is clear to demonstration that the most wealthy community must ultimately become the poorest. A man, in the present state of civilised society, in the upper or middle class, certainly may marry, and leave his progeny quite in as favourable a situation as could be done two or three centuries past; but he is himself in a superior situation to that in which his progenitors were placed, and he naturally feels

* Essay on Population, chap. vii.

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desirous that his descendants should not sink back into that state from which either he, or his father, or grandfather, have emerged. The man in the lower class also may marry; but if he have a proper sense of his duty, he will be unwilling to do so if there is a chance of his children being supported by the parish.

Under these circumstances, the care in providing beforehand for a family only evinces more forethought, less selfishness, and a superior state of information in the population, and cannot fairly be said to be one of the evils attendant on civilisation.

Amongst those evils, if they may be so styled, which are alleged to arise from an improved state of society, is the excessive anxiety for gain, now so prevalent in all classes. Since wealth has become the chief, if not the only, source of power in nations or individuals, and has enabled the latter to obtain the conveniences and enjoyments of life, and thereby to improve their position in the several grades of society, the desire and restless activity that pervade mankind in pursuit of this end is excessive. Such a restless state is certainly not preferable to the quiet progress of human existence found in those to whom such a pursuit is not familiar.

From this desire to improve their condition — a feeling that has certainly added much to national wealth and individual enjoyment, yet, like all other passions, carried to an extreme, is not to be

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encouraged, schemes have arisen and speculations been devised, likely in many instances to disturb the peace and cause serious injury to many.

The South Sea bubble in this island, and the well-known Mississippi scheme in France last century, are instances to be lamented. Of late years in England, and wherever the desire to obtain wealth has prevailed, it cannot be denied that many have been reduced from their situation in life.

Another evil, much felt by those in active pursuits, has been that which has arisen from over-trading, that is, either entering into some speculation in trade or commerce, or, from the hope of gain, being induced to give longer or more extensive credit than prudence would justify. Both to the trading part and to others much injury is thereby occasioned. It seems difficult to encourage an extensive trade at home, or a great commerce abroad, without a very cosiderable extent of credit; but this, like all other regulations, may be abused and extended too far, and it may be repeated, that the system so prevalent in England of giving long credit, in place of paying at a short period, ought to be avoided. It may be argued, that the immense money transactions that take place between England and all parts of the world could not be carried on without credit. This is true; but often that credit is extended much beyond any reasonable time. How many failures have been occasioned by this system — how many worthy and honourable men have, by giving too ex-

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tended a credit to their foreign correspondents, lost the fruits of years of anxiety and toil! Such has been the case in many mercantile establishments in our outports, and even in the metropolis, during several years past.

In Holland, in former days, bargains were made almost always for ready money, or for a short date, — six weeks or two months. Profits were not great, but quick returns made them considerable. Failures were rare even in that distressing time, when all maritime commerce with the Dutch possessions in India and America was stopped by the occupation of Holland by the French, in 1793. The consequence of this stoppage was, as might be expected, a suspension of various undertakings, a scarcity of work and great dulness in the sale of goods, all leading in the first instance to diminished profits, and eventually to an encroachment on capital; but amidst all this distress, the failures were surprisingly few, fewer than occur in Britain in an ordinary season. Look at France, since the year 1814, where very little credit has been given, and where business has been usually carried on for ready money from necessity, as formerly in Holland from choice. Since the above-mentioned period in France, the return of Napoleon from Elba, the contributions paid, the expense of the army of occupation, but above all, the deficient harvest of 1816, injured much the profits from all descriptions of property. Great depression then

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was prevalent among the middle classes, and much privation among the lower; trade being also at a stand, and goods remaining in the warehouses unsold for years: still, in the midst of all this distress, bankruptcies were not common, arising from the short extent of credit given.

Before concluding this subject, let us mention the advantages now evident in the lower classes, particularly in a greater degree of personal cleanliness; a better and improved mode of promoting the health of towns and populous districts by drainage, ventilation, and, let us hope, the removal of those shocking nuisances, burials, within their precincts.

Interments of the dead among the living are, indeed, an abomination, equally injurious to the health of the community, to public decency, and to that sacred and awful sentiment which ought to fill the heart of every Christian, when he enters the house of his Maker. This feeling, however, cannot but decline under the influence of noisome effluvia, and fear of pestilence, engendered in sacred edifices where the remains of mortality are interred. This custom does not originate with Christianity, as some erroneously imagine, but came into fashion at a later period. Let us not, however, dwell on this subject: suffice it to remark that England, the most civilised country in the world, is the last to emerge from barbarism in this respect.

It is scarcely necessary to remark how much of late years the life of man has increased; this can

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only arise from increased temperance, ventilation, cleanliness, and all the other comforts in every class of society, arising from an improved state of living, consequent on the advance of civilisation.

Another improvement in those nations where civilisation has advanced, may be found in the infrequency of famines. It is stated, that of the 254 great famines and dearths enumerated in the tables prepared on the subject, fifteen were before the Christian æra, beginning with that which occurred in Palestine in the time of Abraham: if, subtracting these fifteen, we divide the years of the present æra by the remainder, it will appear, that the average interval between the visits of this dreadful scourge has been only about seven years and a half.*

Now, in the present day, no famines of such a description occur; human food may be either dearer or cheaper, according to the seasons, but a famine once in seven years would indeed be a scourge at present. So far famines have diminished.

The history of plagues or epidemics makes them to have committed their ravages chiefly amongst the lower classes. The author, already quoted, in a table of all the plagues, pestilences, and famines, of which he could collect accounts, shows the constancy and universality of their operation in former times.

The epidemical years in his table, or the years

* Tables, and History of Air, Seasons, &c., by Dr. Short, vol. ii. p. 366.

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in which the plague or some great and wasting epidemic prevailed (for smaller sickly seasons seem not to be included), are 431; of which 32 were before the Christian æra. If we divide therefore the years of the present æra by 399, it will appear, that the periodical returns of such epidemics, among the various nations of the earth of whom accounts could be obtained, have been prevalent on an average at the interval of four years and a half.

Let us look at those countries where civilisation has made any progress; do we find the plague making its appearance every four years? Thank Heaven, since the year 1665 no such visitation has desolated our island.

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CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.

Importance of educating the Poor. —Their Sorrows and Sufferings. — Infrequency of Famines in civilised Times. — Advantages arising from Facility of Communication.—Instances of travelling in old Times. — Friendly Intercourse of Nations. — Diminution of Crimes and Maladies. — Bright Prospect.— Christian Morality. — Improvement in the moral and physical Condition of Britain, from Civilisation and the Influence of Public Opinion.

In concluding these remarks on civilisation and the growth of public opinion, we may observe, that, if a further elucidation of the subject was required, volumes might be filled from historical records of every nation in the world, to demonstrate the state of mankind in former ages, and their improved condition in the present. What a scanty amount of comfort was enjoyed, — what a mass of misery was endured by man in that ocean of time that is past, until within comparatively a short period! This contemplation leaves the mind doubtful whether most to regret the number of centuries in which man, by his crimes, his bigotry, his indolence, his superstition, and his folly, has not only wasted his existence, but made it wretched; or to rejoice at the improvement that is now daily, if not hourly, taking place; and affording to the sons of human-

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ity a state in which the social duties of man towards his fellow-creatures are better observed, and in which the elements for civilisation are fast spreading over the globe!

It may therefore be admitted, that this condition of mankind, as it promotes mechanical improvements, adds considerably to those classes who, exempt from manual labour, may be enabled to enjoy leisure and intellectual cultivation. Let us, however, not be unmindful of those whose lot may compel them to remain in that class where labour is required, and where the means of subsistence are precarious.

Care must be taken that the increase of wealth in all the civilised nations of the globe, and particularly in our island, may lead us in an especial manner to attend to the education, morals, and welfare of those persons whose means are deficient for that purpose. Not only is this our bounden duty to them as fellow-creatures, but it is the interest of all who have any property to lose. As remarked at the commencement of these pages, there is little to apprehend from popular tumults at the present time. The great extension and influence of property may counteract them; but the means of organisation now are so easy, the facility of communicating and of combining and holding intercourse from the Land's End to John of Groat's House, is such, that it behoves every man of education and of reflection well to consider the vast im-

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portance of instilling a proper moral education in the inferior portion of the lower class. Some sort of information will, in the present day, be acquired by this class; and if not of a moral description, it may take an opposite direction. The condition of those who have no means of support but their own labour, when they see around them so much luxury and wealth, must be considered. The constant and severe toil to which a labourer is subjected, and the exposure to climate in sickness or delicate health, render him, if equally temperate and virtuous as his more wealthy neighbour, deserving of the greatest praise, as being liable to greater temptations, either from intemperance, or from the little attention that his conduct, if he keeps within the pale of the law, will excite. The poor man, after his toil, has not the enjoyment of imagination, or of literature: in the other classes, whatever may be the cares or anxieties, the means of occupying leisure hours in improving the mind, augmenting information, or perfecting moral attributes, are great. Under all these circumstances, the man who earns his daily bread must be considered with great indulgence, and ought by all possible means to be assisted by those, whose energy, activity, or good fortune, have placed them in affluence.

The sorrows and sufferings of the poor are indeed sacred things. In speaking of some almost destitute emigrants, newly arrived in America, and on their way to the back woods and new settle-

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ments of Canada, Mr. Dickens says, "The vessel in which we returned from Quebec to Montreal was crowded with them, and at night they spread their beds between decks (those who had beds, at least), and slept so close and thick about our cabin door, that the passage to and fro was quite blocked up. They were nearly all English; from Gloucestershire the greater part; and had had a long passage out: but it was wonderful to see how clean the children had been kept, and how untiring in their love and self-denial all the poor parents were.

"It is very much harder for the poor to be virtuous than it is for the rich; and the good that is in them shines the brighter for it. In many a noble mansion lives a man, the best of husbands and of fathers, whose private worth in both capacities is justly lauded to the skies. But bring him here upon this crowded deck. Strip from his fair young wife her silken dress and jewels, unbind her braided hair, stamp early wrinkles on her brow, pinch her pale cheek with care and much privation, array her faded form in coarsely patched attire, let there be nothing but his love to set her forth or deck her out, and you shall put it to the proof indeed. So change his station in the world, that he shall see in those young things who climb about his knee — not records of his wealth and name, but little wrestlers with him for his daily bread; so many poachers on his scanty meal; so many units to divide his every sum of comfort, and farther to

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reduce its small amount. In lieu of the endearments of childhood in its sweetest aspect, heap upon him all its pains and wants, its sicknesses and ills, its fretfulness, caprice, and querulous endurance: let its prattle be, not of engaging infant fancies, but of cold, and thirst, and hunger: and if his fatherly affection outlive all this, and he be patient, watchful, tender; careful of his children's lives, and mindful always of their joys and sorrows, then send him back, and when he hears fine talk of the depravity of those who live from hand to mouth, and labour hard to do it, let him speak up as one who knows, and tell those holders-forth that they, by parallel with such a class, should be High Angels in their daily lives, and lay but humble siege to Heaven at last.

"Which of us shall say what he would be if such realities, with small relief or change all through his days, were his! Looking round upon these people, far from home, houseless, indigent, wandering, weary with travel and hard living; and seeing how patiently they nursed and tended their young children; how they consulted ever their wants first, then half supplied their own; what gentle ministers of hope and faith the women were; how the men profited by their example; and how very, very seldom even a moment's petulance or harsh complaint broke out among them: I felt a stronger love and honour of my kind come glowing on my heart." *

* American Notes, vol. ii. p. 205.

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This passage does honour to the celebrated writer. But let us turn from the shadows to the lights of the picture. The community, now accustomed to live in a luxurious and highly civilised state, is scarcely aware of the advantages of which it is possessed. The rich productions of countries at four or five thousand miles distance, — countries formerly unknown, — are ranged in shelves, or displayed on counters: those possessing means have only to rub Aladdin's lamp, — in other words, to pay for what they require,—and any thing they wish for in the creation is summoned before them: but although the Genius of the Lamp does not wait on the poor, yet to them the fruits of civilisation are more valuable than its flowers. A revered religion, just laws, medical aid, the approbation of the charitable, the sight of relations, the regard of friends, security from those dreadful famines that desolated the earth and thinned her population in former days, all these are benefits which the poor may enjoy: besides the chance, by industry and good conduct, of rising in their condition. "It cannot be otherwise that, even in the best organised communities, some should enjoy, without labour or exertion, all the luxuries of life, whilst the greater number are forced by the sweat of their brow to seek for mere subsistence, and to work for the lowest stipend." *

* "On ne sauroit eviter, dans les sociétés les mieux ordonnées, que les uns ne jouissent, sans travail et sans peine, de toutes les commodités de la vie, et que les autres, en beaucoup plus grand

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At present nothing is heard in civilised nations of those dreadful famines which occurred in former times, and by which the inhabitants of Europe and of other quarters of the globe, were annihilated in countless numbers. In the mere means of physical existence, of preserving life, of supplying that first article of necessity,—a sufficiency of food for the population—the state of civilisation is immeasurably superior to former times. It appears from early records that there was no method of equalising the consumption of different seasons, for in the course of the same year the price would vary, not by a third or a fourth part, not three or four times, but eight or nine times, as may be seen by inspecting the tables of the annual prices of wheat from 1202 to 1764. It appears from these tables that the plenty of one year was not called in aid of the scarcity of another. It is equally obvious, that the wants and distresses of one part of the country were not relieved by the greater plenty that prevailed in adjoining districts. The chronicle of Dunstable mentions, that while wheat sold at Dunstable for a crown the quarter, it was sold at Northampton for eight shillings.*

But with no facility of communication, no means of conveyance, and no command of money or of

nombre, ne soient forcés de chercher, à la sueur de leur front, la subsistance la plus étroite, la récompence la plus limitée." —*Necker, de l'Importance des Opin. Relig.*, chap. i.

* Blane's Letter on Scarcity, 8vo., 1817.

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manufactures to give in exchange, how was it possible, in former times, for one nation to supply another with the necessaries of life, or to make up the deficiencies of an unfavourable season in one place, by superabundance in another? Supposing that, eight centuries before the present time, a famine had occurred in Holland, and a superabundance in the harvest in England or Spain, could the people in Holland have been supplied from either country? No means for transport existed; but even had such been at hand, in what manner could the starving population give an equivalent in value for such foreign aid? Nay, it would not be merely between one country and another that the desired relief would be impracticable, — it might be equally impossible in different parts of the same land. Let us imagine that, in the remote period indicated, there should have been a failure of crops in Northumberland, and an over-production in Devonshire. How could the former district be relieved by the latter, when neither had any means of conveyance, or slender means of payment if such conveyance had existed?

In this respect, a great and extraordinary amelioration is taking place in the condition of mankind — an amelioration which reaches (as to be beneficial it ought to do) even the lower classes of society.

A mutual interchange of commodities or natural produce is not the only advantage arising from

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facility of communication. Moral benefits are obtained nearly commensurate to the physical. Mind comes into rapid collision with mind, and less time and less expense is sacrificed. Probably our favourite poet had a second-sight in reference to railways in his verses.* The population may now travel to any given distance in a fifth, at least, of the time consumed two hundred years ago, in passing through a similar extent of country, by persons even of opulence. The following curious specimens of journeying in those days are taken from the *Archæologia*, published by the Antiquarian Society

"Not earlier than the year 1638, Mary de' Medicis, the Queen Mother of France, visiting her daughter, Queen Henrietta, entered London in a litter carried by two mules. Mary, Queen of Scots, while under the surveillance of the Earl of Shrewsbury, appears to have travelled on horseback in her various journeys. That nobleman alludes in a letter to a fall the queen had sustained from her horse, when travelling from Sheffield to Buxton.

"In another letter from the same to his agent, T. Bawdewyn, is the following picture of a journey to London in 1582:—'I thynke my company wyl be 20 gentylmen and 20 yemen, besydes ther men and my horse kep[t]. I thynke to sett forwards aboutt the 2d of Sept. from Wyngfeld to Lestar to my bedde, and so make but four days journey to London.

* "Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole." POPE.

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"In the year 1640, the wife of Henry, last Earl of Cumberland, occupied eleven days going to London, and appears, from the state of the roads, to have ridden the whole way on horseback. 'At this time, (1609) the communication between the north and the universities was kept up by carriers, who pursued their route with whole trains of pack-horses. To their care were consigned the packages and persons of the scholars. It was through their medium that epistolary correspondence was managed: a letter could scarcely be exchanged between Yorkshire and Oxford in less time than a month.'"*

In December, 1703, Charles, King of Spain, slept at Portsmouth, and the Prince of Denmark went to meet him. One of his attendants writes, "We set out at 6 o'clock in the morning, to go to Petworth, and did not get out of the coach (save only when overturned, or stuck fast in the mire) till we arrived at our journey's end. 'Twas hard service for the prince to sit 14 hours in the coach that day without eating, and passing through the worst ways that I ever saw in my life: our coach would have suffered very often if the nimble boors of Sussex had not frequently poised it, or supported it with their shoulders, from Godalming almost to Petworth."†

The following is from the Harleian Miscellany, vol. viii.: — "Coaches and caravans, if in use, are one

* See Archæologia of Antiquarian Society, vol. xx. p. 460.

† Archæologia, vol. xv.

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of the greatest mischiefs that have happened of late years to the kingdom, mischievous to the public, destructive to trade, and prejudicial to lands; by destroying the breed of good horses, the strength of the nation, and making men careless of attaining to good horsemanship, a thing so useful and commendable in a gentleman; by hindering the breed of watermen, &c."* What would the writer say of the facility of locomotion at present?

In the middle ages, each nation, each country, each town, and even each feudal castellated mansion was enclosed and concentrated, and kept apart from its surrounding equals, either by fear, jealousy, dislike, or prejudice. In the present day, on the contrary, the same parties have all a tendency to amalgamation. Information and facility of communication cement the nations at a distance from each other, and each takes an interest in the events, in the adversity or prosperity of the other. There is less difference at present in language, in sentiment, and in character, between nations separated by the Atlantic, than there existed in the middle ages between two cities separated only by a river.†

* See Archæologia, vol. xx.

† "Le commerce guérit des prejugés destructeurs; et c'est presque une régle générale que partout où il y a des mœurs douces il y a du commerce, et que partout où il y a du commerce, il y a des mœurs douces."—*Esprit des Loix*, liv. xx. chap. 1.

"L'effet naturel du commerce est de porter à la paix. Deux nations qui negocient ensemble se rendent reciproquement dependantes: si l'une a l'intérêt d'acheter, l'autre a intérêt

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"The progress of mechanical science, and its fusion of nations one with another, will assuredly render war as absurd and impossible by-and-by, as it would be for Manchester to fight with Birmingham, or Holborn Hill with the Strand." *

Before the light of civilisation many crimes have ceased, many maladies have disappeared, and the life of man has increased in a manner commensurate with his enjoyments.

Human nature has become less cruel. The scaffold is not so often used; the stake is not visible; the faggot is no longer lighted; the various instruments of torture, with the rack and wheel, are preserved only as objects of curiosity in our museums; and, when seen, are beheld with a grateful adoration to Providence that human nature is no longer subject to such inflictions and such abominations.

de vendre ; et toutes les unions sont fondées sur des besoins mutuels."—*Esprit des Loix*, liv. xx. chap. 2.

Whenever an upper, or middle, class is numerous in proportion to the lower, the chance of want to the mass of the people, from an unfavourable season or from other causes, seems less. The superabundance and wealth of the two first classes serves as a means of supply, which cannot be where a lower class only is to be found.

Supposing that Great Britain lost her commerce and her manufacturing industry, and depended only on her soil, it is evident such an alteration would be the reverse of what has been taking place for many years past. The upper and middle classes would then gradually diminish, and the lower augment in proportion. The stimulus to activity, however, is now too great even to apprehend such a result.

* Leigh Hunt.

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Knowledge is now freed from the monopoly of cloistered indolence or exclusive societies.

A bright prospect opens to our view. The energies of the human race appear in the main to have taken the right direction; a sense of justice pervades the community; the minds of men are opened; information is continually increased, and the superior extent of talent displayed by the journalists of our time, when compared with former days, is manifested. Numbers now can obtain information and enjoy literature to whom the new mechanical powers, now brought into general use, afford sufficient means and leisure to acquire knowledge.

Some danger, however, may arise in parts of the European continent, or in other countries where national amelioration is taking place, that the desire for liberal institutions, so natural to man, may occasion communities to make those sudden changes that might outrun the diffusion of the requisites for civilisation, and thereby retard by internal convulsions the march of improvement.

"Au moment où l'histoire nous montre les hommes réunis en corps de nation, on apperçoit en même temps l'établissement d'un culte public, et l'application des idées religieuses au maintien des loix d'ordre et de subordination. Ce sont ces idées religieuses qui, par la puissance du serment, lient le peuple aux lois; ce sont elles qui inspiroient un saint respect pour les engagements contractés."*

* Necker, Opinions Religieuses, chap. i.

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" Public opinion, in England, may be altogether misled in regard to foreign politics; but never, if I may so express myself, in regard to Christian morality, that is, in respect to actions which are not subjected to the control or excuse of circumstances." *

For countless centuries have mankind overlooked the advantages placed in their reach, and under their control, by the bountiful hand of the Creator. Nearly nineteen hundred years have elapsed, and the world might have improved had the virtues of the early and primitive followers of Christianity remained, and, as mentioned in the Introduction, had not felt the hand of worldly-minded men.† On the surface of the earth means are to be found of increasing the wealth, population, and enjoyments of men ten, twenty, or a hundred fold; and means equally prolific are under the soil, in coal and minerals. Not only, however, was this globe formerly unproductive both on its surface and in the ground, but the minds of the people seem likewise to have remained fallow: — the opportunity of cultivating the sciences and improving mechanical

* De Staël's Com. French Rev., vol. i. p. 330.

† The letter from Pliny to Trajan is mentioned by most authors who have written historically on the Christian Church. It is an ancient and undoubted record of that excellent system of morals which the primitive Christians bound themselves on oath to observe: morals that tended to the good of society in general, and to the happiness of every particular state. — *Letters on Pliny, by Boyle,* vol. xi. p. 484.

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inventions, of creating wealth to themselves, and of promoting the welfare of their fellow creatures, by the use of steam-power, and by all those emanations of skill, activity, and enterprise now promoting happiness, and extending civilisation, was not attempted, or unknown.

In the preceding pages it has been my humble but anxious endeavour to show, that in proportion as those elements or requisites for civilisation mentioned in the early part of this work are disseminated throughout a community, nations are enabled, by the common accord and influence of public opinion, not only to establish institutions and to frame laws that secure their lives, their property, and their freedom, but also to model and apply substances placed by Providence under their control in such a manner as to ameliorate their condition. What a difference between London as it now presents itself, and the few scattered huts dotted over its site in the days of the Heptarchy! With the elements of civilisation, improvements in the condition of the people have increased in a similar manner. What a change in the moral and physical condition of this country have eight centuries achieved! Man in the savage or barbarous state is little elevated above the brute creation; yet the moral principle, though dormant, is inherent in his nature. In such a state, the physical

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world of matter lies quiescent and unsought for, although within his reach. The former are brought out and expanded by the true principles of revealed religion, the pure source whence all morality flows; and the physical combinations of mechanical power by which the latter are moulded in his hands for his use and benefit, follow almost as a natural consequence. It appears, therefore, that man, under the influence of a pure religious sentiment, with the aid of his mental and physical powers brought into exertion, and well applied, rises, (even in this world,) into a superior state of existence.

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